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- ART. I.—1. *Egypt's Place in Universal History.* By C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D.Ph., &c. Translated from the German, by SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D. London: 1867. Vol. V.
2. *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs, nach Sarkophagen des altägyptischen Reichs im Berliner Museum, herausgegeben.* Von R. LEPSIUS. Berlin: 1867.
3. *Sai an Sinsin, sive Liber Metempsychosis veterum Egyptiorum.* Edidit HENRICUS BRUGSCH. Berolini: 1851.
4. *Die ägyptische Gräberwelt.* Von HEINRICH BRUGSCH. Leipzig: 1868.

TRUTHS which no man of himself could ever have conceived were known to sages of both East and West long before the mission of Moses. Considering the superior antiquity of Moses before Herodotus, and of most of the Hebrew prophets before the Greek and Latin poets, we might conclude that the younger borrowed from the elder, and that the wiser classics owe some of their wisdom to the Bible, and such a conclusion we consider to be reasonable enough. But, after all, it is undeniable that we now possess written monuments of older date than the oldest of the inspired Scriptures, and that these monuments contain truths which inspired writers had not yet given to the world, but which no man could have known unless they had been revealed to him, directly or indirectly, by God. How is this to be accounted for?

Was there not a primeval revelation from above? Did

not some portions of mankind retain the tradition of a faith transmitted through Noah to the postdiluvian world? And was not that tradition continued down to the giving of the Mosaic law, and thence more fully and authoritatively sent to us by authenticated prophets, and by Christ and the Apostles made known yet more perfectly? We believe that it was so. There were ancient vestiges of a faith in the resurrection and immortality of man, a final judgment, and a future state of reward or punishment; but these were things unseen, and therefore not possible to be known by direct evidence or human testimony; could only be made known at first by Divine teaching, and only such teaching could command entire faith. "Faith cometh by hearing," and men cannot believe what they have not heard on sure authority.

It is, however, just possible that a speculative philosopher might put forth notions of resurrection and a future state. He might, by bare possibility, devise such a process of conjecture concerning the existence of a soul, distinct from the body, and capable of living without the body, as a few Deists of the last century ingeniously imagined for themselves, and, after such a happy conception, he might pursue his fancy without restraint; but, although he had commanded the assent of many thoughtless lovers of what is marvellous, and believers of what is incredible, he would certainly provoke the contradiction of many others, and raise such a controversy on insufficient data as would be likely to issue in general unbelief. We see not any trace of such controversy, but there are signal traces of a widely spread faith in the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, a final judgment to be pronounced on men's actions, and a future state. Recently deciphered monuments, bearing these traces, powerfully stimulate curiosity and invite study. The monuments to which we now refer are chiefly Egyptian and Assyrian. The latter are comparatively few, but are likely to be much increased and very much better known within a very short time, and we shall therefore but glance at them in passing; the former, from Egypt, are now read with comparative ease by a daily increasing number of Egyptian scholars. Amidst much error, and nearly lost in an inextricable agglomeration of absurdities, they nevertheless contain so much of what we can only conceive to be originally revealed truth, that some sceptical critics



fancy them to be in some way the originals of our Sacred Books, and imagine that either we have in the Bible a mere reproduction of truths at first evolved by dint of reasoning, or that the works of our inspired writers are no more than copies of originally heathen legends. The earlier generations of mankind, they may say, knew the doctrine of a future life, and therefore no inspiration was needed for Job, or Jesus, or St. Paul, to teach over again what the elder civilisations of the world believed already. This, however, is forgetting that what was originally known had ceased to be thought of, or was obstinately disbelieved, or was so obscured by fable and falsehood, that a renewed revelation, and nothing less, was required to bring back life and immortality to light. We therefore attach high importance to the evidences of a primeval faith that are interwoven with the remains of old systems of religion, however false. A chief witness of the kind is the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*. When that large collection of mingled myth and tradition is laid side by side with the inspired writings of the Bible, notwithstanding their utter contrariety in all but the little that is common to them both, the fundamental truth that was dimly shadowed forth and sadly disguised in Egypt, appears clear as meridian light in Palestine. The *Book of the Dead*, and a few other books of the same kind, if indeed they be not all fragments of the same, contain unquestionable fragments of the primeval revelation of immortality in which we venture to believe. The very learned Egyptologues whose names are placed at the head of this article, all of them above suspicion of credulity or speculation, have enabled us to read the book. Dr. Lepsius, many years ago, published the Egyptian text, and Dr. Birch gave the world a complete translation of it into English. *The Oldest Texts* of Lepsius comprehends the seventeenth chapter only, but is accompanied with a very comprehensive treatise. The fragment translated by M. Brugsch is also admirably edited, and the whole constitutes a mass of evidence on the subject before us amply sufficient for the information of any inquirer.

With regard to this part of the religion of the ancient Egyptians, Herodotus and Diodorus the Sicilian had long been the chief authorities. Herodotus is the more valuable of the two. He had visited Memphis and Thebes, the capitals of Lower and Upper Egypt, and also the famous

sacerdotal city of Heliopolis, the On of Genesis (xli. 50), the An or Annu of the Egyptians, the Beth-Shemesh of Jeremiah (xliii. 13), the *Ἡλιοῦπολις*, or City of the Sun, of the Septuagint. He conversed everywhere with the priests, was initiated into their mysteries, acquainted himself with the customs and traditions of the people, and transferred the results of his inquiries and observations to the second and third books of his history, written at least four centuries and a half before the Christian era. It was he who noticed the singular custom of a servant, at the close of a banquet, carrying round the wooden image of a corpse, or mummy, in a coffin, carved and painted to imitate nature, presenting it to each guest in turn, and saying, "Gaze here, and drink, and be merry, for when you die such will you be."\* He does not seem to have taken this for an exhortation to grave reflection, but an incentive to merriment, as when Joseph's brethren drank and were merry with him.† The Grecian guest, considering what the priests told him of the condition of the dead, who would be honourably "justified" at the hour of death, and then received into the company of gods in their world of glory, there to feast in the luxury of a celestial paradise, would understand the invitation to drink and be merry at the sight of a painted corpse as an assurance that, after death, the departed would experience pleasure in a resurrection, or "manifestation to the light," which would speedily take place. Herodotus discloses the meaning of that festal ceremony more distinctly when he relates how the priests told him that the Egyptians had been the first to maintain a belief that the soul of man is immortal, that it enters into the body of an animal, and, after many transmigrations, will be born again in the body of a man.‡ But the real doctrine of the Egyptians, and their very confident expectation of future happiness, was not fully known to ourselves until their ancient and long forgotten language had been discovered, and their hieroglyphics and writing, sacred and popular, was ascertained and deciphered by learned men, many of whom are still alive and active in prosecution of the same study.

But we must not claim absolute priority for the Egyptians as holders of this belief in immortality. Four hundred and fifty years before Christ, the Egyptian priests told

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\* Herod. II. 78.

† Gen. xliii. 34.

‡ Herod. II. 123.

Herodotus that their remote ancestors were the first, thereby intimating that, by that time, there were others who taught the same doctrine, as we know there were. But monuments now existing tell us that, in an age at least equally remote, the same faith in immortality was held by the Chaldeans. The Deluge Tablet, first made known by Mr. George Smith in December 1872, contains a legend which may perhaps be attributed to a writer contemporary with Nimrod, and represents the hero of the deluge, Sisit, as a good man, rewarded with immortality for his piety, after the great gods had destroyed the sinners with a flood . . . turned the bright earth to a waste . . . destroyed all life from the face of the earth, because the world had turned to sin, and all the people were devoted to evil. The corpses of the doers of evil, and of all mankind who had turned to sin, floated like reeds on the waters, and not a man was saved from the deep. But, after all, when the anger of the gods was appeased by sacrifice, this good man who had built the ship wherein was preserved the seed of life,—this man Sisit, and his wife, and the people who were saved with them, were carried away to be like the gods.\* The legend of the descent of Ishtar into the region of the departed, stamped in a brick tablet of apparently equal antiquity with the former, tells that the deceased were believed to be in a state of suffering under the inexorable queen who held them in severe captivity under bonds of darkness in that "house of eternity; the house men enter, but cannot depart from, by which road they go, but cannot return." The dismal territory was entered through seven gates. Inside the first gate, Ishtar was stopped, and the great crown—for she was a queen too—was taken from her head. On entering the second gate, the earrings were taken from her ears. At the third gate the precious stones were taken off from her head. At the fourth the lovely gems were removed from her forehead. At the fifth the girdle was taken off her waist. At the sixth the golden rings were taken off her hands and feet. At the seventh the last garment was taken from her body. There she sat, humbled and forlorn, in an abode of darkness, where their food was earth, and their nourishment clay; where light never broke eternal night; where ghosts

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\* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vol. II. p. 213, &c. Longmans.

were heard flitting about invisible, like night-birds, and the dust lay undisturbed on gates that never might be opened. This and much more is written on a clay tablet in the British Museum, translated by Mr. Fox Talbot, and revised by Mr. Smith.\* This was penal death, as men understood death to be when Babylon was newly built, and when the great necropolis of Erech, a city founded soon after Babylon, was receiving the mortal remains of people from the most ancient group of cities in the postdiluvian world. Thus early were the horrors of an eternal prison believed to be the impending punishment of man's transgressions, where all the guilty alike would lay prostrate in a second death. There were the sovereign and the slave, the fallen warrior, the discrowned queen, the maiden robbed of her costly garments and sparkling jewels, all despoiled alike, none permitted to carry aught away from the world of the living into the world of the dead.

Yet men were not left in this world to perish without hope. We read from one tablet of an Assyrian offering prayer for his dying brother: "May his soul fly like a bird to a lofty place! May it return to the holy hands of its God!" On another tablet it is imprinted that the gods "approach the body of the sick man. . . . They bring a *khisibta* (jewel?) from their heavenly treasury; they bring a *sisbu* from their lofty storehouse; to the precious *khisibta* they pour forth a hymn. 'That righteous man, let him now depart. May he rise as bright as that *khisibta*! May he soar on high like that *sisbu*! Like pure silver may his figure shine! Like brass may it be radiant! To the sun, greatest of the gods, may it return! And may the sun, greatest of the gods, receive the saved soul into his holy hands!'"† Apart from the polytheism, which already cursed mankind, the sin, no doubt, which brought down the deluge, the fact that one of the first established nations after that event held fast by the belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is what relates to our present subject. We have digressed from Egypt to Assyria, as having priority in respect of time, and for the sake of observing that Egypt is believed to have been peopled from Asia, and derived her knowledge thence, not from the African conti-

\* *Records of the Past, being Translations of Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments.* Edited by Dr. Birch. Bagster. Vol. I. p. 143.

† *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.* Vol. II. p. 29, 31.

ment. In physiognomy, language, and in religion, the peoples differed greatly, as might be expected after the separation of the sons of Noah and their families, with the confusion of tongues. At the same time their agreement in essential articles of belief in relation to the future state warrants the persuasion that before the deluge, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of families, their faith, or so much of the true faith as remained among them, was the same, even as the primeval revelation given to the first men must have been the same.

Returning now to the Egyptians, we at once observe how eminently they were distinguished by careful respect for the bodies of their dead. Cost and skill were lavished on the construction and adorning of their tombs, no less than on their palaces. Some of the greatest works of Egypt were finished in honour of their dead. As if it was possible to make corruptible flesh imperishable, and to frustrate the all-consuming purpose of death, as soon as the last breath was drawn embalmers were employed to prevent putrefaction by steeping the body in nitre, filling the cavities with spices, and swathing it from head to foot in fine linen, smeared with gum. When well dried and hardened, the mummy was laid in a case, usually adorned richly, and then the case was deposited in a marble chest, or sarcophagus, and perhaps that again in another. Thus protected, the body lay without corruption in the pure atmosphere of Egypt, never to decay nor be preyed upon by worm or mould. The design was to preserve the earthly tenement ready to be occupied again by the immortal tenant after passing through the transmigrations of many ages, and the marvellous preservation of thousands of mummies demonstrates that if such reanimation were possible it might have actually taken place. For some of them have lain uninjured for three or four thousand years, or even much longer. The preparation, therefore, was as complete as man could make it. Desiccated corpses have been unswathed and found as hard as iron. Yet the process of mummification has not destroyed the flesh, and Mr. Pettigrew relates that after patiently macerating a piece of mummy in warm water, it recovered the softness and natural appearance of flesh. Freed from the mumifying substance, and exposed to the action of the air, it was smitten with putridity, and after the amazing pause of at least three thousand years between vital activity and utter

dissolution, there came visibly the material fulfilment of the sentence, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The effort to evade the sentence had been made in blind and uninstructed faith, yet faith so strong in its way, and so sincere, for aught we know to the contrary, that it may now rebuke the unbelief of this generation, even as the penitents of Nineveh might arise in judgment to rebuke the more guilty unbelievers of Jerusalem.

In the museums of Europe may be seen sarcophagi covered with elaborate inscriptions, incised with patient art, the characters clear and legible as when made in the remote ages of Egypt's glory. In the Sloane Museum, for example, there is one said to be the finest known. It is said to be the sarcophagus of Rameses II., older than the Exodus, cut from a block of pure oriental alabaster that rings at the touch, and covered inside and outside with a graphic symbolism of the transmigrations of the departed, hieroglyphic imagery being mingled with sacred writing. It is a grand example of what generally covers the sarcophagi of kings and priests. Similar records were also written in papyrus rolls, which are sometimes laid in folds between the legs of mummies, as if to await perusal when the triumphant soul, with the attendant intellect tested and purified, shall return after mysterious wanderings on the expiration of thousands, or even millions of years, as once they dreamed. The writing, wherever found, consists of sentences, varying alike in number and in purport, very various in the less important wording of the contents, and now spoken of collectively as the *Book of the Dead*. The sections, whether more or fewer, are each headed by a word which is translated "chapter," and, as a received edition of the book from a manuscript at Turin now stands, the number of chapters is 163. But there is an unknown variety of texts, changing with times, and usually becoming more diffuse as time advances. Each text may be supposed to exhibit the doctrine prevailing at the time in the part of Egypt where it was written, while successive editions, found in these nearly imperishable monuments, exhibit the doctrine concerning the dead in a constantly enlarging form. The oldest are therefore the most valuable, as being nearest to the original conception, and least distant from the primeval revelation, so far as that revelation may have been known in Egypt ages before Joseph was sold to Potiphar.



Our authority for this account of comparative antiquity is Dr. Lepsius, who has published what he believes to be a fragment of the oldest text, and translates an inscription on a sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, a king or prince of the eleventh, or earliest Theban dynasty. But although the highest antiquity has been claimed for Thebes, Memphis and Lower Egypt, having been first peopled from Asia, are generally considered to be more ancient, and therefore the tradition of the first Memphite dynasty, if preserved, might have afforded a text more primitive than the oldest known to Lepsius. He also gives a copy of the same seventeenth chapter from another sarcophagus of lesser antiquity, bearing the name of Sebak-aa. In all inscriptions mention is made of ornaments that were laid with the mummy. Lepsius draws attention to a plate of gold with an inscription to the purport following:—

“*Title.*—Chapter of the collar of gold placed on the neck of the deceased.

“*Text.*—Spoken by Osiris Aufank to the Justifier. My father is An. My mother is Isis. I understand. I see. I am one of the understanding ones.

“*Subscription.*—Spoken over the collar of gold on which this chapter is written for him. Laid on the neck of the deceased person on the day of the burial.”

The collar thus inscribed is an amulet laid on the breast or neck of the mummy, and the words thereon were to be spoken by the deceased when he came into the presence of the Justifier, so called, after the burial, and before what is called the uprising at the gate of the other world, and were also pronounced at the burial by the priest, who by that ceremony was supposed to impart to them their magic power. Or if not then by the priest, previously by the owner of the plate, who provided it for himself in his lifetime, in anticipation of the funeral. The name of the person to whom this collar belonged was Aufank, and, as was usual for the deceased to do, Aufank took to himself the name of Osiris. The seventeenth chapter from the *Book of the Dead*, in its older form, from the Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, set side by side with a later form of the same from the Papyrus of Aufank, will assist the reader to perceive on what principle the enlargement of earlier texts proceeded.



## MENTUHOTEP.

Mentuhotep, Master of the Palace, ever well pleasing before Rá, speaks in the chapter of the uprising on the day of days in the Lower World.

It becomes the word:—

I am Tum, one Being. I am one. (*iv.*)

I am Rá, First in his dominion.

I am the great God, existing of myself,

the creator of his name, the Lord of all gods,

whom no one among the gods resists.

I was yesterday; I know the morning, Osiris namely.

## AUFANK.

*The chapter of the awakening of the dead; the uprising, and coming into the Lower World. Being among the attendants on Osiris, refreshed with the food of Unnofre the justified, uprisen in the day of days, living in all existences, where he delights to be at rest from wandering, dwelling in the hall as a living spirit. Osiris Aufank the righteous, the son of Setkem the righteous, among all that are well-pleasing before all the great gods of the West Land, at the time of his funeral procession, and of the festivities during preparation for the earth.*

*It becomes the speech of men, spoken by Aufank the righteous:—*

*I am Tum, as one Being. I am one, as the primary water.*

*I am Rá in his dominion, in the beginning of his reign that he has assumed. What is that? It is Rá in his dominion, in the beginning of his reign. It is the beginning of Rá ruling in Hat-Suten-Kenen, as a being of himself existing; the elevation of Nun which is on high—Am-sesennu who has annihilated the children of rebellion—on high Am-sesennu.*

*I am the great God, existing of myself; that is to say, the water, that is to say, the godlike original water, the father of the gods. [The great God, existing of himself, is Rá, namely, the primary water.]*

*The father of the gods, or also it is Rá, the creator of his name, as Lord of the gods. What is that? It is Rá, the creator of his members, which are become the gods that are like unto Rá. I am he whom no one among the gods resists. What is that? Tum in his disc, or even Rá in his disc, when he shines brightly in the eastern horizon of the heavens.*

*I was yesterday; I know the morning. What is that? It is that yesterday, even Osiris; it is that to-morrow, even Rá. On that day when the adversaries of the*

MENTUHOTEP

There had been made a battle-field of the gods, as I said:—

There is the battle-field of the West-land, namely.

I know the name of this great god that is there.  
Praise-of-Rā is his name.

I am Bennu, that great one who is worshipped in On. It is the confirmation of that which is.

What is that? It is Osiris.

It is that which is; that, namely, which is ever, even that which is eternal.

I am Kem in his appearing, by whom both feathers on my head have been appointed to me.

What is that? His both feathers are those of Horus, namely, of the avenger of his father.

His both feathers are

his both uräen\*  
on the breast of his father Tum.

AUFANK.

Lord of the universe (Osiris) shall be annihilated, and he is confirmed by his Son Horus, or also on that day of the confirmation of Osiris through his father Rā . . . *he has made a battlefield of the gods, as Osiris, Lord of the mountain of the West, commanded.*

What is that? *The West-land, namely, was made ready for the godlike spirits, as Osiris, Lord of the mountain of the West, commanded; or also, the West-land, that is to say, the remotest boundary, was given to Rā, whither every God came to him; for which also he has fought.*

*I know the great god that is in him. What is that? It is Osiris, and also Praise-of-Rā is his name; that is to say, Life-of-Rā is his name, by which he engenders with himself.*

*I am Bennu, that great one who dwells in On, I am the confirmation of all that which is.*

*What is that? It is Bennu-Osiris that is in On.*

The confirmation of all that is, his body; or *that which is ever, and that which is eternal.* It is that which is ever; the Day, to wit. It is that which is eternal; the Night.

*I am Kem in his both appearances, by whom both my feathers on my head have been appointed to me.*

*What is that? Kem is Horus, that is to say, the avenger of his father. His appearances are his birth. Both feathers on his head are the attendance of Isis and of Nephtys, which have been placed behind him in their unity as twin sisters. Behold, that is in relation to the placing on his head the both uräen, namely, the mighty great ones on the breast of his father Tum. Or, also, his two eyes are the both feathers on his head.*

\* *Serpents.* In the Egyptian mythology some serpents were good, others evil.

## MENTUHOTEP.

I am in my land. I am come to my dwelling-place. What is that? The horizon, that is, of my father Tum.

## AUFANK.

*I am in the land; I am come to the dwelling-place. What is that? The horizon belongs to his father Tum.*

It is obvious that the older and shorter text in the first column is enlarged on the second by the addition of explanatory words, and in this way the whole mass of funereal sentences was amplified, in course of time, to an indefinite extent, apparently with the intention of making it intelligible to an initiated Egyptian, but with the actual effect of making it more obscure to those who read it now, when the mythology of Egypt seems to be inextricably confused, or, as M. Edouard Naville well says, *inexplorée*.\* The gods not only change names and forms at pleasure, but they absolutely lose identity, melt away into one another, and mock every possible relation among themselves. Yet amidst this incessantly tantalising contradiction, there is a constant assertion of the immortality of man, his manifestation to light, or his doom to interminable transmigrations for purgation from sin, and the eventual reunion of the purified soul with the deserted human body—a characteristic delusion of heathenism borrowed by the Jews after the captivity, and revived in a corrupted Christianity. There was always the same aspiration after a state of more perfect happiness, and an ambition of the Egyptians to be clothed with divinity, to assume the very nature of the gods, and even to be identified, one by one, with the gods of their peculiar choice.

From age to age it was persistently believed that the eminently pure and upright man would become at once a renovated human person after death, and an incarnate god. A prevalent idea was that every such living man, having been from eternity a god, had assumed the person whose name he bore, and which name would, after death, be perpetuated in the tomb, while the body would be left behind in the mummy-case, and the Theanthrope, so to call him, would be reabsorbed into his divine existence.

Birth into earthly life was death. This world was darkness. Death itself was manifestation into light. "The day," so called with euphemistic brevity, after the objective and mystical manner of expression which characterises the

\* *Introduction aux Textes relatives à la Mythe d'Horus.* Genève et Bâle. 1870.

oldest formulas of the *Book of the Dead*, stands for the day of uprising, of judgment, of justification ; not so much with allusion to the light of the sun-god, shining in the lower world, or to the glorious brightness of the light of heaven, in contradistinction to terrestrial gloom, as to that one long anticipated day of trial in the Hall of Truth, the *dies illa*, the day before all other days which ought to be in every one's thought, and in the unnumbered ages to follow would be in every one's memory. "The justified," disencumbered of his earthly load, in that day enters into life again. He then takes possession of his proper home, and in due time will taste the more perfect pleasures of Elysium. It was requisite, however, that on reaching the portals of the West he should assert his divine dignity, and solemnly present himself to the gods, his fellows, to challenge their open recognition. Therefore he asserted his identity with Rá, the sun, with Osiris, chief god of the dead, and other high divinities, whose names he borrowed in succession, united with his own. But inasmuch as Rá became Osiris when divested of his diurnal brightness, and bearing rule in the lower world, every deceased person had that name prefixed to his own earthly name, and was called "The Osiris."

Osiris, according to this theory, was none other than Rá ; the sun, shorn of his external glory, until clothed with light again. He rose every morning on the Eastern horizon, mounted up to the zenith, and as he rushed on his course, again from the top of heaven seeking the Western bound, he received from morn to even adorations, changing every hour. Entering the portal of the West at sunset, he revisited the lower world, which men think to be dark, and there bore mild sway through the hours of night, until, with sunrise, he rose again in the East. Here, to follow the Egyptian fable, he was begotten anew, and came from the region of spirits into this inferior world. At the dawn of day he is no more than Horus, the child, pictured as a boy, sitting in the lap of the moon-god, Isis. Now that he is Horus, son of Rá, they call him Horus-Rá. Anew he starts upon the circling career of day. So is the oldest of the gods rejuvenate, and by noon grows into maturity again. Again they call him Rá. Rá rushes onward in his might, then he expires at sunset, then again he revives, in the gentler form of Osiris, and reigns the night through in the lower world. This perpetual transformation goes on, as every circle goes, without an end.

Following Lepsius now, in the attempted simplification of this mystery, we note that the life of a good man—an Osiris—is an avatar of the one God under many varieties of name; each member of that Divine unity being, so to speak, detached from the exhaustless body for a season to be restored to it again. The life of a Pharaoh, in his supreme power, partook of the godhead more largely than any other being. He was a god in the form of a man; he bore the most sublime resemblance possible of Rá, or at least of the youthful Horus-Rá. His earthly reign was, or ought to be, a repetition on earth of his brilliant image in the sky. The death of a man so linked with the divinity was but the transit of Rá-Osiris from the supramundane form to the submundane. This twofold being, conscious of an immortal majesty, looked with a lofty complacency on death, and was only careful to prepare an enduring habitation in everlasting marble to receive the body which, from its birth, had been the shrine of a god. He used the utmost art to have that shrine preserved from corruption by embalming, and prepared for it a tomb in rock or pyramid. The precious alabaster, the firm granite, the adamantine porphyry that never would decay, should serve him for coffin, and he trusted that the sanctity of the place where his sacred body was deposited would protect that shrine from desecration.

Leaving the well guarded mummy there, the Pharaoh was taught to believe that when, like the setting sun, he, being justified, reached the lower world, in company with spirits like himself, he, Osiris-Rá, would subdue the strength and rage of the crowd of envious fiends that were collected there to withstand returning gods; that then he should make himself known by his names divine and human, make himself acknowledged as one that is wise, and prove his identity with the God most High. The priests promised him that he would fight royally with the malignant fiends, and vanquish them with godlike might. They assured him that he would stand justified by Thoth, the god of letters, and the judge of the departed against all accusers, and that, being readmitted into the world of delights, he would enjoy that world much after the very worldly manner that we hear Mohammedans expect to enjoy their paradise. Who, now, can wonder at the pride of a Pharaoh?

But if the apotheosis was only to be accomplished after

so stiff a conflict, even a king of Egypt, languishing on his death-bed, might well tremble at the prospect, and regard the end of his earthly life as the most awful period, or crisis, of his existence. Before he could be admitted to the happy life of eternity he would have to be justified by the merit of the life he was leaving, and make good his claim against every accuser. Only when that was done could he boldly walk forward and partake of the material enjoyments prepared for the justified. Being justified, he might receive the choice varieties of meat and drink, and consume them as his due. Then he would ascend into Heaven, leaving earth far below, and be admitted as a pure spirit into the presence of Rá and of Tum, whose praises the happy gods and demons are ever singing. His wife would be there with him. His son and heir whom they had left behind would come up and offer adoration to himself. Symbolic pictures on the coffins represent the deified Pharaoh in the barge of Rá, which, rowed by a crew of gods, is floating in the clear empyreum; and there they are praying to Rá, and Tum, and Koper.

This presupposes a very strict ordeal. Before a man can make his way into that lofty region he must not only be justified from all blame, but crowned as in a triumph. The use of his members, paralysed by death,—by death whose dread reality no fanatical illusions could ever hide,—must be restored to him. Speech to the mouth, pulsation to the heart, motion and firmness to the feet, and skill to the hands. Then the hero shall subdue ferocious beasts, and then shall he receive heavenly endowments. Then the sense of hearing, once lost to him when he left this world, shall be so restored and heightened that he shall enjoy the songs of the blessed, and sing as well as they. This was his resurrection. But how the members of his body were to regain life while they lay in the mummy-cloths, hardened and immovable for long ages on the marble bed, surely they could not conceive. Probably they were taught that the gods would give the good man another body in its stead, and indeed the constant language of the Book we have before us does imply as much. Such conceptions lingered in Egypt in the days of the Apostles, and yet later. It was even then believed that the departed did enjoy the uprising or resurrection minutely described in the *Book of the Dead*, and this may be quite sufficient to account for a saying of St. Paul that certain persons had overthrown

the faith of some, saying that the resurrection was past already.\*

With all its absurdity there is grandeur in this myth. It is too grand, and certainly too elaborate, to have been the invention of any single mind. A poet of lively imagination might possibly have conceived something of the kind, but he would have needed more than human power of persuasion to graft his figment on the public mind, to make his dream the standard of general belief, to make the wealth, the power, the high artistic skill, the heart and soul of an entire nation subservient to his fancy, to elaborate a written faith that should outlast dynasty after dynasty, enduring, as their system did endure, for thousands of years from the foundation of Egypt in the depth of its pre-historic antiquity down to the days of Porphyry when the world was beginning to turn away from heathenism to Christianity; for we know that all this time it did keep hold upon the mind and habits of the Egyptians from the borders of Nubia to the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, and retained its power even while their minds and habits were so often divided, and so intimately disturbed by the intrusion of foreign elements that, notwithstanding an unequalled wealth of monumental record, their history cannot be easily deciphered, their chronology is not likely to be settled, and their mythology remains unexplored. Nothing but an element of truth laying hold upon the conscience antecedent to the mass of error and false worship could have given it persistence. Such an element was the primary doctrine of the unity of God and the immortality of man. This doctrine did not proceed from any single teacher that we hear of, neither was it slowly developed in the course of ages, but existed from the first, and continued to the last, although overlaid and shrouded with an ever-thickening disguise of fable. The fundamental truths were ever there, not wrought out by the persevering study of the priests, nor made up from accumulating legends, nor spelt out by the interpreters of mystic ceremonies, but abiding in spite of the myth, the legend and the mystery. They were essential to the wisdom of Egypt which Moses learned and Iamblicus expounded, and you may strip off the amplification of later

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\* 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.



texts as much as you please, go back to the briefest forms of earliest confession, and remove the mass of mythology that followed, and in the residue that is left you will still find the vital and imperishable truth that there is an essential Godhead irrespective of the names of gods, that the soul of man is immortal in spite of his earthly death, and that a momentous futurity awaits him.

This truth, not being the invention of a *vates*, nor yet of traditionary growth, but originating in an ancient source, purest when youngest; gradually corrupted, yet never extinct; such truth can only be regarded as a Divine gift originally revealed from heaven, as much a gift of God as human speech or human conscience. It must have been given to man before Egypt was—imparted to the first of men before mankind wandered away from their Father in Heaven, before the creature made upright had wrought out many inventions. It was as certainly given to man as life was given, when the Creator breathed into him the breath of life, and made him a living soul.

Therefore, when it is said that the immortality of the soul was not known to Moses and the Hebrews, nor to the writers of the Old Testament in general—although the Old Testament contains internal evidence to the contrary—or that it was so faintly received by the Hebrews of the Exodus as not to be thought of at the giving of the Mosaic Law, and that the thought of rewards and punishments in a future state did not influence the Legislator, nor affect the nation, we can now meet the allegation with a confident reply. We can show that the contrary appears in all the monuments of Egypt, contemporaneous with Moses, many ages before his time, and many ages after him. Incidentally, too, we know that this allegation of ignorance is equally discordant with all that bears any relation to the subject in the ancient monuments of Chaldea and Assyria, as well as with the confession of Job and the exultant faith of David.

As to the doctrine of the Divine Unity, which sharply contrasts with the polytheism of Egypt in the *Book of the Dead*, we must remind the reader of the passage we have seen in the seventeenth chapter, as given from the Sarcophagus of Mentuhotep: "*I am Tum, one Being I am one.*" Lepsius translates the Egyptian by, "*Ich bin Tum, ein Wesen (das) ich eines bin.*" So he expresses his perception of the original hieroglyph, and recalls a sentence in the

New Testament, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ΕΝ ἔσμεν. Here we observe that the sentence of the Evangelist and the sentence of the hierophant are precisely parallel, the same grammatical form being chosen by both to express the same mystery of the unity of God. The commentary in the Aufank Papyrus, as quoted by Lepsius, adds, "as primary water," rendered by the learned German, "ich eines bin, als urgewägser." Then the Egyptian explainer of the name Tum says that it means, "He that is locked up (out of sight), he that is hidden," was only one. It was the indestructible germ of unity which lay in the primal water, that abyss, the great deep, the תְּהוֹם whence all things rose. This, however, represents the esoteric teaching of the priests, not the vulgar notion of "the Gods of Egypt," the polytheistic perception of the matter alone familiar to Pharaoh and to his servants, and communicated to the people by the magicians in their conflict with Moses and Aaron.

Having learned, not only from Greek historians, but from actual monuments of the old Egyptians themselves, that they acknowledged one God, the Father of all, Creator of the world, and believed themselves immortal, and that they and their successors, although retaining these articles of primeval revelation, fell deeper and deeper into practical polytheism with its inseparable folly and depravity, we must not fail to observe how these facts confirm an explicit statement of St. Paul, who wrote not less than 2,500 years after Mentuhotep. The Apostle\* describes the gradual departure of the Gentile world from an original knowledge of essential truth, and the moral degradation consequent. Originally, he tells us, they held the truth, but did not retain God in their knowledge. God had shown unto them that which might be known of Him. The invisible things of Him were clearly seen from the creation of the world. His eternal power and Godhead were clearly understood. They knew God; but, when they knew Him, they glorified Him not as God. They became vain in their imaginations. Their foolish heart was darkened. They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man. They professed themselves to be wise, but became fools. They changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.

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\* Rom. i. 19—25.

The language of St. Paul does not describe sudden defection, but gradual departure from a known standard of faith in God, from purity in worship, and from the moral restraints of religion. Patient research will certainly lead to demonstrative evidence that when the hieroglyphic pictures and hieratic writing were cut into the marbles which now yield so rich treasure to the Egyptologues, the Egyptians had not sunk so low as they were in the days of the Apostles, but were less unlike the theists to whom he pointedly refers in the former lines of his description. We have not now space to pursue this line of inquiry, and must therefore be content with producing a single indication out of many which continually occur in course of reading, that the progress of departure from a primitive norm of truth might be traced by noting the succession of innovations, the successive invention of new fables, or admission of new tenets, as time advanced. The relation of Osiris to the dead and to the lower world, with the assumption of his name for the deceased, has been just now noted, and this constitutes the principal feature in the Doctrine of the Dead, as this branch of Egyptian mythology may be called. But, "it is remarkable," says Dr. Birch in one of his contributions to the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*,\* "that although the existence of the Osiris myth can be traced as early as the *fourth* dynasty, as shown in the tombs of the period, from the constant adoration paid to Anup, or Anubis, an inferior personage in the same myth, yet no individual, however high in rank, receives that designation till the *fifteenth* dynasty. This shows a distance of about 400 or 420 years between the first appearance of an essential feature of this religion to an important practical application of it, and on the collation of but a few more examples of the kind might be conducted a very useful retrospective chart, with probable estimate of the state of doctrine at the time of the earliest records known." We can conceive that the result of such a review in Egypt would be very satisfactory, but when we read the vain imaginings of those who wrote with advancing license in the *Book of the Dead*, speaking of objects visible, but so unable to understand what they saw that they invested every object with the garb of wildest fable, and so ignorant of humanity and of themselves that they could only boast how

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\* *Z. f. ä. Sprache*, April, 1869.

just they were, and how well-pleasing to the gods ; how they fancied themselves to be divine, no less than members of the Supreme, Omnipotent, All-present, and Eternal One, one with Tum, the root of all existences, and fountain of all the vitality and power in the universe ; one with Rá, the glorious radiance of the Godhead, one with Osiris, eternal too, we acknowledge that, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and perceive how inevitably they fell into the creature-worship that was prevalent in Egypt at the time when they had the Hebrews in captivity. Neither can we be surprised at the ridiculous forms of creature-worship described by a Roman satirist in verses so often quoted that it would be superfluous to quote them now.

After Juvenal, in the first century of our era, came Porphyry in the third. Juvenal had derided the Egyptians for worshipping leeks and other matters, or paying them extravagant reverence equivalent with worship ; but there is some reason to apprehend that the Romans represented them to be more besotted than they really were, even in those latter times, and we do not think that in the age of Moses there was yet any certain trace of Nigritian fetishism. Porphyry attacked their superstitions with argument, indeed, but with his own unfeeling cynicism. He wrote a letter to Anebo, an Egyptian slave, containing hard questions about the religion of Egypt, which poor Anebo had not skill to answer, but Iamblicus, his master, took up the correspondence, and wrote a letter to Porphyry which is still extant. Iamblicus was a philosopher of Chalcis, superstitious enough, but profoundly versed in the subject on which he undertook to treat ; and if the two men may be estimated by their writings, Iamblicus the philosopher was very far superior to Porphyry the sceptic. On examining this work of their apologist, it is to ourselves apparent that in spite of the pitiful trifling of priests and magicians, there yet remained among them a tradition of the truth. Even more than this—if Iamblicus did not overstate their case, there does appear a probability that the establishment of Jews in Egypt from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the subsequent establishment of Christianity, had served to revive the better element in the religion of the country, and create a better understanding of that truth.

Porphyry had begun his letter to Anebo concerning gods and good demons, such gods and demons as we read of on

the marbles and the papyri, with making a gratuitous concession that there are gods. Iamblicus resents the concession. He objects that there is contempt implied in the very thought of making such a concession of what is above doubt. "It is not right," he says, "to speak thus, for there exists in our very being the implanted knowledge of gods, ἡ περὶ θεῶν ἔμφυτος γνώσις, which, better than all judgment and choice preceding, anticipates reasoning and demonstration. It does not become us to speak of conceding the existence of gods and demons, as if such existence were doubtful, and as if the concession might therefore be withheld, for in this Being we are contained, or rather we ourselves are filled with it, and whatever we are we owe to our knowledge of the gods."\* Here we must remember the doctrine held by some Egyptians, at least, that Tum was the fountain of all being, the parent of all gods, who were no more than emanations from him, and held that the good demons, or souls of justified men, returned into the same fountain of all spiritual existence; and at this point the degeneration of monotheism into pantheism was complete. Of this one God, however, Iamblicus does not cease to speak, either plainly or by implication, and says that the Egyptians "affirm that all things which exist were created, that *He who gave them being is their first Father and Creator*, προπάτορά τε τῶν ἐν γενέσει δημιουργὸν προτάρτουσι, and acknowledge the existence of a vital power before heaven was.† They say that Mercury, the Egyptian Thoth, taught, and that Bitys the prophet found it written in hieroglyphics, that the way to heaven was the name of God which penetrates through all the world.‡ Divine good they consider to be God, and *human good* to be union with Him, or, if we translate more exactly, *identification with Him*—τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνωσις.§ The attribution of so great efficacy to the all-penetrating name of this god answers to the fact so conspicuous in the document now under review, that the name itself had power to frank its bearer into the lower world, together with gods and justified persons; and the *henosis* or unification of the good man with the one god, affirmed by Iamblicus, repeats what we read in the *Book of the Dead*.

"The name of 'a god,' or of 'the god,' that is Osiris, annihilates

\* Iamblicus, *de Mysteriis*, sec. i. cap. 4.

† Ibid. viii. 4.

‡ Ibid. viii. 5.

§ Ibid. x. 8.

or does away with the accusers in the future state. Hence, no doubt, the mystery of prefixing it to the names and titles of the deceased, called Osiris. The deceased was protected by the mystery of the name from the ills which afflicted the dead. The goddess (Nut), painted and invoked on the coffin, was an additional security to her adopted son, the deceased King Mencheres."\*

After this view of the chief points which are suggested by the works before us, it is time to glance over the *Book of the Dead*, as we have it in the lucid translation of Dr. Birch, who puts the cramped and mysterious Egyptian into plain English. The authorship of this *book*, as it is conventionally called, is attributed to Thoth, generally identified with the Hermes of the Greeks. The several fragments, or as much of existing parcels as were then adopted for use, are believed to have been collected into one mass some time in the twenty-sixth dynasty, from B.C. 664 to B.C. 525, or thereabout, and are usually called Hermetic. In all that relates to the state of the departed, as written by a god, the chapters were held to be inspired; they were the rule of faith, and with the rubrics prefixed to them they became the directory for practice. But the earliest appearance of rituals was in the eleventh dynasty. It was then that extracts of these sacred books were inscribed on the inner sides of the sarcophagi, more particularly portions of the seventeenth and other chapters, besides others that are not preserved in the papyrus above-quoted, and which probably had become obsolete at the later period when that papyrus was written.

The soul, this Book taught, dies first when born into this world, and is imprisoned in human form, which becomes to it a living death. But notwithstanding this view of humanity, originally true enough, they paid even an excessive honour to the human person, and at least five principles were held necessary to complete a man, namely:—*Ba*, the soul, represented in hieroglyphic by the figure of a hawk with human head and arms, *Akh* or *Khu*, intelligence; *Ka*, existence, or breath of life; *Khaba*, or shade; *Kha*, or body; and lastly, the *Sah*, or mummy. The soul is not described as created, but the *Ka*, existence, or breath of life, is the especial gift of Tum. The book opens with

\* Dr. Birch, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und ältherthumskunde*, April, 1869, p. 51.



an address of Thoth himself, followed by addresses of the soul, immediately after separation from the body, to the infernal gods. The defunct enumerates his titles to the favour of Osiris, and demands admission into his empire. The choir of glorified souls intervenes, supporting the prayer. The priest on earth speaks in his turn and implores Divine clemency. Then Osiris encourages the defunct to speak to his father and enter freely into Amenti, the Hades of Egypt. Many chapters of less importance follow, relating to the first funeral ceremonies. At last the deceased is admitted into Amenti, and is amazed at the glory of the sun-god whom he sees for the first time there. He chants a hymn of praise, with many invocations. A chapter "Of Escaping out of the Folds of the Great Serpent" tells how he has defied Apophis, the evil one, and escapes from him. Passing through the gate of the West, as the sun Osiris, he has opened all his paths in heaven and earth, he has come from the mummy. The gods and goddesses give way before him.

Thus pass the first and second sections of the Book. The third section contains fanciful speculations on "the Reconstruction of the Deceased." A mouth is to be given him in Amenti, and opened by the faculty of speech. Charms are given him for the production of ideas, and another charm for giving him a name. A heart will be made for him, and the person so reconstructed will rejoice in the amplitude of his powers. Thus rejoicing, he exclaims (chap. 26): "My heart is given to me in the place of hearts, my heart in the place of hearts. I have received my heart, it is at peace within me. For I have not eaten food where Osiris is in the filthy East. Going and returning I have not gone (with indecision). I know what I have eaten, going and stopping (decidedly.) My mouth has been given for me to speak, my legs to walk, my arms to overthrow my adversaries. I open the doors of heaven. I have passed Seb, the lord of the gods. I fly. He has opened my eyes wide. Anup (the god who weighs the souls in judgment) has fashioned my heel. I attach myself to him. I rise as Pasht the (cat-headed) goddess. I have opened heaven. I have done what is ordered in Ptah Ka. I know by my heart. I prevail by my heart. I prevail by my arm. I prevail by my feet. I do what my soul wishes. My soul is not separated by my body from the gates of the West."



Great was the virtue of the 64th chapter, and it is very long. The rubric says:—"If this chapter is known, he has been justified upon earth. In Amenti he does all that the living do. It is the composition of a great god. This chapter was found at Sesennu (Hermopolis), on a brick of burnt clay, painted with real lapis lazuli, under the feet of the great god. It was found in the days of King Ramenkar, the justified.\*

Sixteen chapters relate to the preservation of the body in the sepulchre. Enchantments and amulets are supposed to guard it from violation by the hands of the profane, who would seek to steal away the consecrated heart, or to take away the mind, and to prevent the hungry crocodile from devouring the flesh, protect it from the gnawing worm, the snake, the tortoise, the malignant fiends, and the noisome vermin that swarm in the region of Karneker (the grave).

Nine chapters are provided for recitation by the living, to save the departed from a second death,—the first death being this present life,—from the defilement of evil, destruction in hell, and an eternal overthrow.

Twelve chapters concern the celestial diet, in which there shall be nothing loathsome, impure, or poisonous.

Other twelve chapters are supposed to describe "the Manifestation to Light" of the reconstructed human body, invested with undying powers, and surrounded with manifold defences against mortality. The departed one is assured that he shall come forth as the day, prevail against all enemies, break through the barriers of sepulchral night, and that as the god, after entering the gate of the West at sunset, emerges in the East with returning day, and mounts up into the meridian glory, so shall body and soul, the material and the divine again united, quit the earth, and ascend towards Aahenru, or Heaven.

Still unequal to the conception of so sublime a mystery as the resurrection of the body, though longing after it, and not knowing that flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdom of God, nor that corruption cannot inherit incorruption, the Egyptian mystagogue tells of metamor-

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\* This rubric was afterwards rendered differently by the same translator. "Let this chapter be known. He is justified from earth to Hades. He makes all the transformations of life. His food is that of a great god. This chapter was found at Hermopolis on a brick of polished brass, written in blue under the feet of that god in the days of the King Mencheres the justified." —*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, June, 1867, p. 55.

phoses of the vile into the glorious, changing men into gods, and clothing the mortals departed in the forms of heavenly beings; the hawk of gold, the aged chief, the lily, the phoenix, the nycticorax, the swallow, the serpent of paradise, the forms of many gods, and the soul of the earth. Then comes a chapter (89) of the visit of the soul to the body in Karneker, while yet the time for final glorification is not come. If this chapter be known to the person deceased, his body is not injured; his soul does not enter into his body again for millions of years. If this chapter is known, his body is not decayed, his soul is not thrust into his body for ever. *He sees his body, he is at peace with his mummy, he is not troubled, his body will not be strangled for ever.*

Fifteen chapters are employed in describing the metamorphoses, or transmigrations. In all this the Egyptian speaks as one who, more than all others, cares for the honour and preservation of his body. Every part of it is sacred, and is under the protection of its own peculiar god. "There is not a limb of him without a god." This elaborate ritual at once confesses and distorts the truth inculcated by inspired writers of Holy Scripture, one of whom says, remonstrating with licentious Gentiles, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, for ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are His."\*

Twenty-six chapters relate to *The Protection of the Soul*. The first is a chapter (91) "Of not Allowing a Person's Soul to be Sniffed out in Karneker." By virtue of another chapter the person "goes out as the day. His soul is not detained in Karneker." The phraseology—so near as difference of language may permit—is used which we find employed with reference to the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ: *Thou wilt not abandon My soul to Sheól* לֹא תַעֲרֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשֵׁאוֹל neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption,"†—the *Sheól* of the Hebrew being equivalent with the *Amenti* of the Egyptian. The tomb, or grave, is the Egyptian Karneker, answering to the Hebrew שְׁחָת, corruption.

There is a chapter (100) for *Giving Peace to the Soul*,

\* 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.

† Ps. xvi. 10.

to be pronounced as a charm over the body of the deceased, written on a scrap of linen, placed on his knee, or on his flesh, and not to be approached. Some words of it are remarkable: "I am made the second after Isis, the third after Nephtys, I have grown strong by their prayers, I have twined the cord, I have stopped the Apophis (the evil serpent), *I have turned back his feet.*" A serpent with many feet—feet growing by pairs out of the annular ribs of his skeleton—is a prominent figure on some of the old mummy-chests, that of Rameses II., for example, in the Sloane Museum; while other serpents have none, but go on their bellies. This is a fact worth noting, as it may possibly indicate the remembrance, or the tradition, of such a serpent, and if that be substantiated, it will throw light on Gen. iii. 14: "Upon thy belly shalt thou go."

Eight chapters describe the freedom attained by the justified, soul and body being reunited, to go along the roads of Rusta, or plains of Amenti, and of coming out thence, or returning thither.

But the section of the Hall of the Two Truths, or Scales of Justice, is of the highest interest. Until the reader comes to this part of the book, he may reasonably suppose that the Egyptian relied on nothing for happiness beyond the grave except charms or protestations of his own. Here he finds mention of a judgment after death. This being known to the Egyptians when the chapters of this *Book of the Dead* were written, could not have been unknown to Moses during his early education in Egypt, which continued until he was forty years of age. The 125th chapter relates to "*Going to the Hall of the Two Truths, and separating a Person from his Sins when he has been made to see the Faces of the Gods.*" The person to be judged and weighed in the balance by Anup, or Anubis, judge of the dead, appeals to the supreme judge and his assessors.

"Oh ye lords of truth! oh thou great god, lord of truth! I have come to thee, my lord, I have brought myself to see thy blessings. I have known thee. I have known thy name. I have known the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, living by catching the wicked, fed off their blood in the day of reckoning words before the Good Being, the justified. Placer of Spirits, Lord of the Truth is thy name.

"Oh ye lords of the truth, let me know ye. I have brought ye truth. Rub ye away my faults. I have not privily done evil against mankind. I have not afflicted persons or men. I have

not told falsehood in the Tribunal of Truth. I have had no acquaintance with evil. I have not done any wicked thing. I have not made the labouring man do more than his task daily. I have not let my name approach to the boat, nor endeavoured to make my name approach to the . . . nor exceeded what is ordered. . . . I have not been idle. I have not failed. I have not ceased. I have not been weak. I have not done what is hateful to the gods. I have not calumniated the slave to his master. I have not sacrificed. I have not made to weep. I have not murdered. I have not given orders to smite a person privily. I have not committed fraud to men. I have not changed the measures of the country. I have not injured the images of the gods. I have not taken scraps of the bandages of the dead. I have not committed adultery. I have not spat against the priest of the god of my country. I have not thrown down. I have not falsified measures. I have not thrown the weight out of the scale. I have not cheated in the weight of the balance. I have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings. I have not hunted wild animals in their pasturages. I have not netted sacred birds. I have not caught the fish which typify them. I have not stopped running water. I have not put out a light at its proper hour. I have not robbed the gods of their proper haunches. I have not stopped a god from his manifestation. I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! Pure is that Phoenix which is in Suten Khen (Bubastis). Because I am the nostril of the lord of the winds, giving life to the good. The day of veiling the eye in Annu (Heliopolis, or On) before the Lord of heaven and earth on the 30th Epiphi. I have seen the filling of the eye in Annu. Let no evil be done to me in the land of truths, because I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the Hall of Truth. Save me from them!"\*

The person who thus presents himself at the seat of judgment next invokes by name the forty-two gods' assessors, protesting that he is innocent of the offences above enumerated, and pleads expressly—"I have no sins, no perversion . . . let me pass the roads of darkness. Let me follow thy servants in the gate, let me come out of Rusta from the Hall of Truth. Let me pass the lintel of the gate."

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\* This day of veiling and unveiling the eye in Heliopolis must refer to the participation of the deceased in the mysteries of Osiris which were represented there and at Bubastis. So says Herodotus (ii. 171): "On this lake around Bubasti it is that the Egyptians represent his sufferings whose name (Osiris) I refrain from mentioning, and *this representation* they call their mysteries. I know well the whole course of the proceedings in their ceremonies, but they shall not pass my lips."

The chapter (155) *Of not letting the Body corrupt* describes the dignity of a frame exempted from corruption, incorruptibility being an attribute of godhead, while all mere creatures are abandoned to corruption. The Osiris, now changed from human to divine, exclaims—

“Hail, my father Osiris! Thy limbs are with thee; thou dost not corrupt; thou dost not turn to worms. Thou dost not putrefy. Thou dost not decay. Thou dost not change into worms. . . . I am! I am! I live! I live! I grow! I grow! I wake in peace. I am not corrupted. I am not suffocated there. I grow tall. My substance is not sent away. My ear does not grow deaf. My head does not separate. My tongue has not been taken away. My eyebrow is not plucked out. No injury is done to my body.”

Some of these ideas are so exactly expressed in Holy Scripture that almost the very sentences are repeated. The God of Abraham, instead of revealing any name, declares His immortality by the mere words, “I am that I am,” and bids Moses say to the Egyptians, “I am” hath sent me unto you. The incarnate Son of God says, “Before Abraham was, I am.” The incorruptibility of the body of the crucified is described in terms recalled to our memory in the chapter now quoted, and we cannot resist the conclusion—not that the sacred writers copied from the *Book of the Dead*, which it is not likely they ever thought of, but—that the whole set of ideas naturally belonging to the subject was suggested by the primal inspiration of truth to man, when the first teachings were communicated by the Creator, and the whole conception came down with the inmost ideas of the mind so long as the tradition of the truth remained. But it was given to men severally and plenarily inspired to deliver the original truth again, divested of every disguise, and disentangled from every perversion. And again, we repeat, that the penetration of these ideas into the whole doctrine of the Egyptians when Moses was in Egypt, and when the Pharaoh who then sat upon the throne was laid in the sarcophagus that may now be seen in London, demonstrates that Moses, learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, could not have been ignorant of a future state, as some say, nor yet unaffected by the consideration of future rewards and punishments. Nor could the Israelites, familiar as they were with the religion of Egypt, have been indifferent to the truth which was

paramount in the land of their birth. On this truth rested the faith of Moses, when he refused the pleasures of sin in the court of Pharaoh.

Allusions to the creation in the 115th chapter, as it is rendered by Mr. Goodwin in a contribution of his to the *Zeitschrift*, have met our eye since writing the present article. "I (meaning the supreme god *Rá*) appeared before the sun." "When the circumference of darkness was opened, I was one among you (*gods*)." "I know how the woman was made from the male."

We must now leave the *Book of the Dead*, and make but brief reference to the *Book of Migration*, edited by Dr. Brugsch, who, we may observe, was once Prussian Consul at Cairo, enjoyed the confidence of the Pasha, and wrote an invaluable history of Egypt, at the Pasha's request, directly gathered from the ancient monuments now standing. Dr. Birch, we are aware, considers this *Book of Migration* to be one of a very extensive mass of writings never yet collected in any one manuscript, but many of them composed on special occasions, and for the use of particular persons. The *Sai an Sinsin* is a laudatory address to the deceased. It consists of fourteen chapters. The authorship is attributed to Isis, who calls him her brother Osiris, and it was probably written by a priest for his friend or patron during his life-time, while the sepulchre, also, was in course of preparation for the reception of his body. The address was well adapted to be sung by the priests at the burial, as Diodorus Siculus says was the custom. The first four sections may serve as a specimen of funeral eulogy, eminently Pagan in its character, as such compositions frequently are in spirit, even with ourselves.

I. "Beginning of the *Book of Migration*, composed by Isis for her brother Osiris, to give life to his soul, to revive his body, to renew his divine members in power, to reunite him to his father *Rá* (*the Sun*), to make his soul manifest in heaven in the disc of the god *Aah* (*the Moon*), that his body may shine bright in the star of Orion, among the progeny of the goddess *Nupe* (*Rhea*), that he may perform his transformation, as is just, in the field of the god *Seb* (*Saturn*). The divine father, prophet of Ammon-*Rá*, king of the gods; prophet of the gods, *Harsiesi* the justified (*deceased blessed*), son of a divine father, prophet of Ammon-*Rá*, king of the gods, *Harsisheshonk* the justified, infant of the lady priestess of Ammon, *Teutneith* the blessed. O thou hidden one! hidden where thou hast the praise of every one in Amenti (*Orcus*,



as Brugsch renders it), who livest in power covered with a precious veil, in purity.

II. "Hail! Osiris\*—thou art pure; thy heart is pure; thou art pure before in cleanness; thou art pure behind with the washing of water; thou art pure within by the infusion of nitre (for embalming); there is no member of thine unclean. Thou art pure, Osiris—with that infusion which is of the plains of Hatapha, towards the north of the plains of Sahamu. The goddess Sate and the goddess Savan have purified thee in the eighth hour of the night, (and) in the eighth hour of the day, that thou mayest be Osiris—. Thou comest to the tribunal (*Hall of Judgment*), thou art purified from all evil, and from all abomination. Rock of Truth is thy name.

III. "Hail! Osiris—thou comest to the house of glory in great purity; the goddesses of truth made thee exceedingly pure at the great tribunal. Thou hast a grand cleansing at the tribunal. The god Seb (*Saturn*) purified thy members at the tribunal. Thou art fair by looking on Rá, and the god Atune (*the sun what he sets*), his conjunction at the place of darkness. Ammon is where thou art, giving thee breath, and the god Ptah (*Vulcan*) bending thy limbs. Thou comest to the horizon with Rá; thy soul is received into the baris† with Osiris; thy soul is divine in the house of Seb, and thou art justified for ever.

IV. "Hail! Osiris—thy name remaineth, thy Sahu (*mummy*) is fresh; thou art not excluded from heaven, (nor) from earth. Thy soul shineth with Rá; thy soul liveth with Ammon (*the Theban Jupiter*). Thy body is renewed with Osiris; thou goest on migration for ever."

The book closes with impassioned commendations of the deceased to all the gods "in the abodes of glory." Always taking for granted that the piety of the person when living, the enchantments of the priests, the power of amulets, and the merit of funeral ceremonies have done all that is necessary to secure his admission into the glory of heaven, the language of adulation is carried to the utmost. It appears again upon the gravestones. Brugsch found several; he gives translations of the epitaphs in his *Gräberwelt*, and two of them here follow. The first is probably a fair

\* This book may be adopted at the funeral of any other person, by the substitution of another first section, to be descriptive of the person, and his parentage, and by supplying the name after Osiris, which this time is Harsiesi, son of Harsieshehonk, born of the priestess Teutnoith.

† *Bapic*. Herodotus, II. 96, gives this name to a large kind of barge used for conveying burdens on the Nile, and also for similar vessels constructed for state occasions, and for funerals. The same name is given to the barge of Rá, in which the great god is supposed to sail all day in the clear ether.



specimen of many. The deceased bespeaks the good opinion of those who come after him :—

“O ye great men, you prophets, you priests, you temple-singers, and all you men that come millions of years after me; if ever one of you shall deny my name and exhibit his own, so will god do unto him, by making his memory perish on the earth, but if he praises my name that is on this monument, so shall the god of the dead in like manner cause it to come to pass with him.”

The following inscription he copied from a grave in Beni Hassan, where he supposed it had been for about 2,500 years before Christ. After a short historical introduction, in which the deceased enumerates the services he rendered to the neighbourhood where he lived, he proceeds :—

“I have not troubled the son of the poor man, I have not oppressed any widow, I have not disturbed any fisherman, I have not driven away any shepherd; there was no householder whose servant I took for labour; no prisoner languished in my days, no one died of hunger in my time. When there were years of hunger, I had all the fields of my Nomos ploughed, on to the Northern and Southern boundaries. I gave nourishment to its inhabitants and fed them. There was no hungry person in it. I gave the widow equal measure with the married woman. I did not prefer the rich to the poor.”

So at last self-esteem and vanity close the tale of life. All peculiarities of age, country, or sect, seem to be lost, swept off the scene by a single gust of pride. Pride, as universal as death, speaks loud as ever from the tomb, and the Egyptian Pharisee proves himself no less earnest than his brethren in Judea to trumpet his own fame precisely in the place and at the time most unfit for the manifestation of vainglory. The common disease of evil needs the application of a remedy, and all the Christian world, exulting in the possession of a clearer revelation of primitive truth, have reason to be thankful that such a remedy has been provided.

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- ART. II.—1. *The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman*, now first collected, with Illustrative Notes, and a Memoir of the Author. In Three Volumes. London: John Pearson, York Street, Covent Garden. 1873.
2. *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the Time of Shakespeare*. With Notes. By CHARLES LAMB. New Edition, including the Extracts from the Garrick Plays. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden. 1854.

It is more than strange that a dramatist of the Elizabethan cycle, with an extra-dramatic reputation such as has clung for two centuries and a half to George Chapman's translation of the works of Homer, should have remained until last year among the inedited\* authors of the most brilliant and most vital epoch of English literature. If not as worthy of the care of that great editor, the late Mr. Dyce, as were Webster and Ford, Chapman was at least as worthy of good editing as many of those whose works passed through Mr. Dyce's hands; and it is, we repeat, strange that we should have to thank the enterprise of Mr. Pearson, well known for sundry other reprints of old books, for the first collected edition of the plays of a man associated as Chapman was with some of his greatest contemporaries, and still currently before the reading world (indeed, too patently present!) in his noble though somewhat un-Homeric version of Homer. It is now sixty-six years since Charles Lamb recorded an opinion of Chapman, which should, in the nature of things, have long ago borne the fruit of a complete edition of his plays from some other hand; for we doubtless owe much in the way of good editions of Elizabethan work to the impetus which Lamb's *Specimens* gave to the study and appreciation of that literature. That book of specimens, delightful in itself, consisted, in the days of its first appear-

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\* Inedited as to complete dramatic works: isolated plays of Chapman have appeared once and again in Collections; and one of them (*Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*) was edited in 1867 by Herr Karl Elze.

ance, of extracts gathered almost wholly from scarce old books. But the authors there represented, and still to this day inedited, are quite a small minority; and we certainly have to thank Lamb's admirable taste in selection, and tact in comment, for much that has since been done. The highest critics still hesitate to dissent from Lamb in any important question of Elizabethan literature, and no one valuing his reputation would think of setting about a serious estimate of any one of those dramatists without first instructing himself as to how that most discerning, devoted, and distinguished of dramatic critics thought concerning the particular playwright in question. A note of Lamb's generally has more critical weight in its concentrated truth than is to be found in many pages of ordinary criticism; and although he does not say very much about George Chapman, he says quite enough to justify what we have already stated, and, in the eyes of some writers, a great deal more. He deemed the few pages of selections which he made from Chapman's plays enough to give an idea of that "full and heightened style" which Webster makes characteristic of Chapman; and he records it as his deliberate opinion that "of all English play-writers, Chapman perhaps approaches nearest to Shakespeare in the descriptive and didactic, in passages which are less purely dramatic."

We have been the more careful to give the exact words of Lamb on this subject, because the editor of the reprint on which the present article is based has taken equal care to suppress, apparently for the purposes of an effective and consequential opening to his preliminary dissertation, the very important qualifying phrases which follow the name of Shakespeare.\* The editor thus makes Lamb guilty of the grand and utterly incredible blunder of ranking Chapman absolutely next to Shakespeare! He says in the first paragraph of his "Memoir:"—

"It is the recorded opinion of Charles Lamb that of all the dramatists of that great age, Chapman approached the nearest to Shakespeare."—*Chapman's Dramatic Works*, Vol. I. p. 5.

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\* We would willingly regard this as a merely careless blunder, rather than as a gross perversion of the truth as uttered by a truth-speaking man. Our readers will know better how to regard it when they have followed us to the close.

We have seen that no such thing was the recorded opinion of Lamb; and we could name other dramatists ranked "nearest Shakespeare" on much more important grounds than description and the didactic. But in order that our readers may know exactly how Lamb regarded Chapman on other grounds, we must quote the rest of the note appended by the great critic to his extracts. He proceeds as follows:—

"Dramatic imitation was not his talent. He could not go out of himself, as Shakespeare could shift at pleasure, to inform and animate other existences, but in himself he had an eye to perceive and a soul to embrace all forms. He would have made a great epic poet, if, indeed, he has not abundantly shown himself to be one; for his Homer is not so properly a translation as the stories of Achilles and Ulysses re-written. The earnestness and passion which he has put into every part of these poems would be incredible to a reader of mere modern translations. His almost Greek zeal for the honour of his heroes is only paralleled by that fierce spirit of Hebrew bigotry, with which Milton, as if personating one of the zealots of the old law, clothed himself when he sat down to paint the acts of Samson against the uncircumcised. The great obstacle to Chapman's translations being read, is their unconquerable quaintness. He pours out in the same breath the most just and natural, and the most violent and forced expressions. He seems to grasp whatever words come first to hand during the impetus of inspiration, as if all other must be inadequate to the Divine meaning. But passion (the all in all in poetry) is everywhere present, raising the low, dignifying the mean, and putting sense into the absurd. He makes his readers glow, weep, tremble, take any affection which he pleases, be moved by words, or, in spite of them, be disgusted, and overcome their disgust. I have often thought that the vulgar misconception of Shakespeare, as of a wild irregular genius, 'in whom great faults are compensated by great beauties,' would be really true, applied to Chapman. But there is no scale by which to balance such disproportionate subjects as the faults and beauties of a great genius. To set off the former with any fairness against the latter, the pain which they give us should be in some proportion to the pleasure which we receive from the other. As these transport us to the highest heaven, those should steep us in agonies infernal."—Bohn's Edition of Lamb's *Specimens*, pp. 87, 88.

The finer qualities of Chapman are admirably summed up in this paragraph: and, as regards that part of the man's work in which he would seem to have taken the greatest delight (his translations), we are well pleased

to leave our readers in undisturbed possession of the view taken by Lamb. There is one point, however, that requires some enlargement,—a point included in the words “Dramatic imitation was not his talent,” and “He could not go out of himself, as Shakespeare could shift at pleasure, to inform and animate other existences.” There is no reason to suppose that Lamb used these words in the absolute sense in which they might be understood; and indeed the use of the word “talent” has so far changed in the last half century, that we should almost be justified in substituting “forte.” That Chapman had “dramatic talent,” as we now understand the word, is certain, and was doubtless just as certain to Lamb; but that his dramatic power was less than that of several lesser men than Shakespeare is equally certain; and probably that was what Lamb meant. Also, that he could not go out of himself *as Shakespeare could*, might be said of Marlowe, Webster, Ford, and the rest; and yet Chapman and these could all go out of themselves in their degree, Chapman less than most; but still Chapman, too, in his degree; and if Lamb had meant otherwise than this, he could not have admitted Chapman to the guild of dramatists at all.

It is no small measure of genius that one credits a man with in finding such high qualities as Lamb found in what was obviously the less important division of a life's work; and we feel sure that any reader who examines for himself, carefully, that less important division, consisting of the fifteen plays now before us in a collected form for the first time, will rise with an estimate of the author's greatness fully justifying all that has been said by the admirers of Chapman, from Webster to Keats.

The essence of dramatic genius is to be able to “go out of” oneself; and to say of any one dramatist, be he who he may, that he could not do this as Shakespeare did, is simply to try him by a standard under which no man, born of a woman, can do other than fail; but to say that he could not go out of himself would be equivalent to denying him the title of dramatist altogether. Therefore, we do not say this of Chapman, whom we regard as a very considerable dramatist; and we shall endeavour to show that, though he falls short of Shakespeare, nay, of Webster, of Ford, and of Marlowe, it is not for want of deep sympathy—for, after all, the dramatic power of self-elimination is the deepest sympathy, sublimed and refined ten times in the fire—not

for want of sympathy, but for want of knowledge of men and women. A careful examination of all that is known about Chapman has led us to the conclusion that his vast classic learning and voluminous occupation, operating in an organisation not of the very highest order, shut him out from the observation of the human world—that he was, like many another of the most erudite authors, a recluse. His best characters do not lack vitality; but they do lack variety; and we feel as certain as if we had George Chapman face to face with us, that the fiery, over-bearing, impetuous man he so often depicted under various guises was no portrait of himself, but a strictly limited conception of what humanity would be under certain conditions.

So little is known of Chapman's life that it is impossible to say when, or under what impulse, his various dramas were produced. The dates of publication form no guide whatever; and all we can say positively of their chronology is, that they were printed at various times, from the year 1598, when, according to the evidence of his portrait in the *Homer*, he was thirty-nine years old, up to the year 1654, when he had been dead twenty years. Certainly the two comedies printed in 1598 and 1599 have every appearance of being youthful works, especially on our hypothesis that it was want of knowledge of humanity, and not want of power to realise what he knew, that made Chapman's characters so monotonous. The two comedies in question are *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* and *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, which, like the rest of the series, are rich in poetic passages, but which, as pictures of life, are as dreary and as untrue as anything can well be. The events of these two plays, if they can be called events, are of the coarsest and most brutal character, the amusement turning mainly on the inconveniences arising from indulgence of animal passions in both sexes. It seems to be thought a fine joke that a man should be a cuckold and a woman a trull, that an old man should make himself ridiculous for lust's sake, and that an old woman should dote on a young husband; it is also a most important element in the amusement that the women generally are little better than animals; and this vile conception of female humanity runs through most of Chapman's works. Now, there is no civilised epoch in which this view of womankind is currently adopted; and when it does occur, it is generally as the conception of a base man, or as the



tradition of a young man received from a base man. Chapman was certainly not a base man, by a very long way; and therefore we have no doubt that the vile women of his comedies are traditionary, and the product of earlier years, when he was absolutely ignorant on the subject of women, and nearly so on that of men. Whether he ever attained to any wide knowledge of womankind, we much doubt: it is not known, even, whether he was ever married; but, if the internal evidence of his works goes for anything, we should say certainly not; and, for the enlarged (though still small) conception of female character found in what seem to be his maturer dramas, we should say that widened knowledge of tradition would account amply. In a word, he would seem to have started with a schoolboy misknowledge of women, and ended with a book knowledge of them.

But whatever his conceptions, and however he got them, we maintain that, from the first, even in these two comedies, he *did* "go out of himself, and inform them" sufficiently to leave them vital and vivid in their naked perverted bestiality,—that he conceived them with energy, and endowed them, in the main, not with his own thoughts and sentiments, but with the thoughts and sentiments that he deemed, in the narrowness of his knowledge, proper to them.

If we thought these two comedies the work of a man of nearly forty years old, we could not easily pardon their rotten and rank misrepresentation; but as both are stated on the title-pages to have been "sundry times publicly acted," we are pleased to believe that they had been many years in manuscript before it was found expedient to print them; and one might pardon them as the work of a young man who had all his knowledge of the world to get, and who wrote under the influence of a popular taste that was decidedly gross—a taste that led to still greater faults than Chapman's in the works of far greater men. There is another reason in favour of their being very young works, namely, the utter ignorance they display of dramatic construction. Chapman never attained to the highest proficiency in that respect; but there are wide technical differences between these comedies and his best tragedies, and even between them and his *Cæsar and Pompey*, published in 1631, but stated by the author to have been written long before, *not* for the stage. Together with these



two early comedies, there are two more which we should deem unworthy of the author's riper years, both on moral and on technical grounds, and which, indeed, have only such value as attaches to occasional snatches of poetry, and the author's "full and heightened style." These are *Monsieur d'Olive* and *May Day*, the former published in 1606, after it had been "sundry times acted by Her Majesty's children at the Blackfriars," the latter published five years afterwards, also having been "divers times acted at the Blackfriars." These two are certainly a little more ingenious and vigorous than the other two, but only a little; and neither of them is nearly so ingeniously contrived or so spiritedly set forward as the comedy of *All Fools*, published in 1605, and having in its title-page less of a world-worn air—more of the air of a new work. *All Fools* is merely described as "presented" (not sundry or divers times) "at the Blackfriars, and lately before his Majesty;" and it is quite a good enough play for Chapman to have written, in a sarcastic mood, when he was getting towards fifty years old. It is neither clumsy, like the other four, nor grossly misrepresentative of human nature, but deals with some of the foibles of both old and young with a light hand enough.

But although Chapman seems to have divided\* his attention, as far as dramatic work is concerned, evenly between the comic and the tragic muse, comedy was far less appropriate to his staid and classic genius than tragedy was; and the only two of his comedies that will rank, in our opinion, with the tragedies, are not purely comic. These are *The Gentleman Usher* and *The Widow's Tears*. The first of these was published in 1606: it is not said to have been acted at all, and we should assume it to be a work of about that period in Chapman's career. It is really interesting, poetically conceived, and not undramatic. There is something of a noble charm about the heroine, Margaret, who is courted by the old Duke Alphonso, but who loves and is beloved by Alphonso's son, Vincentio. The following dialogue between the young couple, when Vincentio warns Margaret that their fathers will force her into this marriage she abhors, is charmingly fresh:—

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\* It is remarkable that, of the fifteen plays preserved to us, seven are called comedies, seven tragedies, the odd one being neither, but a mask.

" *Mar.*—That shall they never do; may not we now  
Our contract make, and marry before heaven?  
Are not the laws of God and nature, more  
Than formal laws of men? are outward rites  
More virtuous than the very substance is  
Of holy nuptials solemnised within?  
Or shall laws made to curb the common world,  
That would not be contained in form without them,  
Hurt them that are a law unto themselves?  
My princely love, 'tis not a priest shall let us:  
But since the eternal acts of our pure souls,  
Knit us with God, the soul of all the world,  
He shall be priest to us, and with such rites  
As we can here devise, we will express,  
And strongly ratify our hearts' true vows,  
Which no external violence shall dissolve.

" *Vin.*—This is our only mean t' enjoy each other:  
And, my dear life, I will devise a form  
To execute the substance of our minds,  
In honoured nuptials. First then hide your face  
With this your spotless white and virgin veil:  
Now this my scarf I'll knit about your arm,  
As you shall knit this other end on mine;  
And as I knit it, here I vow by heaven,  
By the most sweet imaginary joys,  
Of untried nuptials; by love's ushering fire,  
Fore-melting beauty, and love's flame itself,  
As this is soft and pliant to your arm  
In a circumferent flexure, so will I  
Be tender of your welfare and your will,  
As of mine own, as of my life and soul,  
In all things, and for ever; only you  
Shall have this care in fulness, only you  
Of all dames shall be mine, and only you  
I'll court, commend and joy in, till I die.

" *Mar.*—With like conceit on your arm this I tie,  
And here in sight of heaven, by it I swear  
By my love to you, which commands my life,  
By the dear price of such a constant husband,  
As you have vowed to be: and by the joy  
I shall embrace, by all means to requite you:  
I'll be as apt to govern as this silk,  
As private as my face is to this veil,  
And as far from offence, as this from blackness.  
I will be courted of no man but you;  
In, and for you shall be my joys and woes:  
If you be sick, I will be sick, though well:

If you be well, I will be well, though sick :  
 Yourself alone my complete world shall be,  
 Even from this hour, to all eternity.

"*Vin.*—It is enough, and binds as much as marriage."

Vol. I. pp. 305—7.

After this sweet scene, in which one cannot but remark the lady's fantastic and somewhat shaky reasoning, and her readiness to accept a verdict in accordance with her wishes, the play becomes tragi-comic. The friend of Vincentio is plotted against and wounded almost to death. Vincentio himself is in great danger of his life, and Margaret, being hotly pressed by her father to marry the Duke, destroys her beauty by applying some virulent ointment to her face. Of course all comes well at last, through the skill of a physician ; but the tragic element introduced into the work lifts it far above the earlier comedies, and gives the poet occasion for a great deal of fine writing.

*The Widow's Tears* was published in 1612 ; and it is stated in the title-page that it "*was* often presented in the Black and White Friars," as if it were already a thing of the past. Of this we are bound to confess that, horribly libellous on female humanity as it is, and outrageously gross as is the plot, it is in our opinion one of Chapman's ablest and best-constructed works. Here the knowledge of human nature is eminently traditional, the story being none other than the horrible tale of the Widow of Ephesus ; but here we have tradition dealt with, not by a puerile hand, but with the strong grasp of a man whose life was mainly devoted to the study and resuscitation of the antique. The mere fact that the tale came from the classic world would probably commend it to Chapman ; and he seems to have devoted the best power that was in him to transplanting and vitalising, in contemporary English soil, the outrageous satire of the original legend. In this case he does not palter and snicker over female frailty as in the earlier comedies ; but, taking the beastly story just as he found it, he never stops to correct or soften it by a natural standard, but renders it vivid and circumstantial with all the coarse brutality of which the Elizabethan stage was capable. There is no single occasion on which one is impelled to smile throughout this comedy ; and in the crowning scene of the self-supposed widow's iniquitous levity, wherein the "comedy" may be presumed to be at

its height, the horror of the situation becomes tragic. The work is really a satirical extravaganza ; but the satire is pointless because unmerited ; and the subject altogether unworthy of the handling. The only possible justification for such a work were the ignorance we have all along presumed, and the poet's supposition that his satire was aimed at something real. Certainly if the women of his day were really what Chapman assumes them to be in his comedies, there was plenty of scope for a didactic crusade against them, and ample possibility of doing good by showing up vice in such colours as are used in *The Widow's Tears*. But we know well that women were not then, or ever in civilised times, answerable to such a tribunal as Chapman summons them before ; and that the kind of immorality with which they are charged has ever been, except in extremely rare instances, a gross fiction invented by base members of our own grosser sex, and founded on their own experience of animal nature.

The most solid and connected division of the dramatic work Chapman has left us is the series of tragedies based on contemporary French history, and affording a careful picture of French Court life at that time. Whether the picture is as true as it is careful, may perhaps be doubted ; but we are disposed, on the whole, to credit it with a fair amount of veracity. The historical characters in these pieces are well drawn, though they owe, like the personages of the comedies, too much to preconceived notions and second-hand conceptions. They are, however, more life-like than the persons of the comedies, and have, over those, the great advantage that you cannot predict with certainty what they are going to do. What Chapman's characters will say, you never can foresee for a moment ahead ; for the meanest of them say at times such astonishingly fine things that, regarding them from a dramatic point of view, the reader stands aghast. Thus, when a "Sixth Citizen," in the stormy senate-scene of *Cæsar and Pompey*, says to Cato :—

"Be bold in all thy will ; for being just,  
Thou may'st defy the gods,"

Cato very naturally remarks, "Said like a god !" Only one just as naturally wonders how the citizen got educated to speak so god-like. This kind of thing constantly recurs in Chapman ; but there is less of it in the French plays

than elsewhere, presumably because the life depicted in them was close enough to the author to ensure the accounts of it, on which he founded, being pretty correct. Of these plays there are four, *Bussy d'Ambois* and *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* being the history of one political coil, and *Byron's Conspiracy* and *Byron's Tragedy* being the history of another. Bussy, in the first of these four plays, is a man of very considerable native nobility, but fiery and impetuous, like all Chapman's heroes. Clermont, his brother, the hero of *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, is a nobler character still, and in our opinion more subtly drawn, and with finer chords in his being. Byron, with the like impetuosity, is a purely self-seeking character. The characteristics most strongly emphasized in Bussy d'Ambois are his blunt straightforwardness of speech and fiery directness of aim, tinged at times with a moroseness of manner far beyond what mere truth-telling and plain-dealing require. Lifted out of poverty by Monsieur, the King's brother, as an eligible tool in his plots against the King's life, Bussy sees through his patron from the first; nor does he scruple to let his patron know this. At the end of the third act Monsieur invites Bussy to give a free opinion of him, whereon he makes a speech in which Chapman seems to have combined dramatic propriety with historic criticism; for we have no doubt that the author's own opinion of the despicable character in question is given in the following passage:—

“ I think you are (at worst)

No devil, since y' are like to be no king;  
Of which, with any friend of yours I'll lay  
This poor stilladoe here, 'gainst all the stars,  
Ay, and 'gainst all your treacheries, which are more;  
That you did never good; but to do ill;  
But ill of all sorts, free and for itself:  
That (like a murdering piece, making lanes in armies  
The first man of a rank, the whole rank falling)  
If you have wrong'd one man, you are so far  
From making him amends, that all his race,  
Friends and associates fall into your chase:  
That y' are for perjuries the very prince  
Of all intelligencers; and your voice  
Is like an Eastern wind, that where it flies,  
Knits nets of caterpillars, with which you catch  
The prime of all the fruits the kingdom yields.  
That your political head is the curst fount

Of all the violence, rapine, cruelty,  
 Tyranny and atheism flowing through the realm.  
 That y' ave a tongue so scandalous, 'twill cut  
 A perfect crystal, and a breath that will  
 Kill to that wall a spider; you will jest  
 With God, and your soul to the devil tender  
 For lust; kiss horror, and with death engender.  
 That your foul body is a Lernean fen  
 Of all the maladies breeding in all men.  
 That you are utterly without a soul:  
 And (for your life) the thread of that was spun  
 When Clotho slept, and let her breathing rock  
 Fall in the dirt; and Lachesis still draws it,  
 Dipping her twisting fingers in a bowl  
 Defil'd, and crown'd with virtues forced soul.  
 And lastly (which I must for gratitude  
 Ever remember) that of all my height  
 And dearest life, you are the only spring,  
 Only in royal hope to kill the king."—Vol. II. pp. 59, 60.

This plain-speaking is the more unfortunate for Bussy d'Ambois, inasmuch as, leaving Monsieur in no shadow of doubt as to what his creature thinks about him and his plots, it also leaves him no scruples, even of a selfish character, as to the advisableness of taking an early opportunity to get Bussy out of the way. He has further reasons for hating d'Ambois: they are both suitors to the Countess Montsurry, d'Ambois being the favoured one; and Chapman shows a much more accurate conception of life in bringing about the tragic close by means of an illicit *amour*, than he does in the several *quasi-comic* situations evolved with much levity from the illicit *amours* of his comedies. Adultery in this set of French plays seems to be assumed, seriously, as almost a matter of course; and we fear that the assumption is a great deal too near the truth as applied to the corrupt life of the French Court at the time treated. The treatment, however, whether minutely accurate or not, is true to the higher principles of tragic art; and the Nemesis dogs the heels of iniquity as unfalteringly here as in all great art. It is simply because of its tragic propriety that the reader endures the remorseless scene wherein the wronged Count Montsurry, having discovered his wife's faithlessness, stabs her arms and breast, and puts her to other tortures. In the subsequent entrapping and killing of d'Ambois there is nothing of this kind: he dies like a bold man who has merited death;



and if he is not wholly noble, because of certain spots, he is yet so far nobler than those who plot his death, that one sees the necessity of a second tragedy, following on the heels of the first.

There appear to have been contemporary critics who carped at *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, on account of the modifications of actual circumstance which Chapman, in common with all great artists, allowed himself; for, in dedicating to the "right virtuous and truly noble knight, Sir Thomas Howard," this complementary tragedy, we find him insisting on the fact that it not only contains "excitation to heroical life," but is true to artistic principles. He asks who "worth the respecting" will require "authentic truth of either person or action" in a poem, "whose subject is not truth, but things like truth? Poor envious souls," he says, "they are that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions: material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary; being the soul, limbs, and limits of an authentic tragedy." Notwithstanding its characteristic pedantry, this *dictum* is perfectly true, and we take it as rightly referring to the whole work. Even in those passages wherein the truth of d'Ambois to his mistress, the Countess Tamyra, might claim too much indulgence from the reader, the impending tragedy is ever present,—a supernatural element, even, being called in to aid the effect. There is an incantation scene, in which Bussy inquires of a spirit as to the future, obtaining a promise of future aid; and on a later occasion, wanting to know how Tamyra fares after the discovery of the intrigue, he soliloquises thus:—

"Never had my set brain such need of spirit,  
T'instruct and cheer it; now then, I will claim  
Performance of his free and gentle vow,  
T'appear in greater light; and make more plain  
His rugged oracle: I long to know  
How my dear mistress fares, and be inform'd  
What hand she now holds on the troubled blood  
Of her incensed lord. Methought the spirit,  
When he had utter'd his perplex'd presage,  
Threw his changed countenance headlong into clouds;  
His forehead bent, as he would hide his face:  
He knock'd his chin against his darken'd breast,  
And struck a churlish silence through his powers.—  
Terror of Darkness: O thou king of Flames,

That with Thy music-footed horse dost strike  
The clear light out of crystal, on dark earth,  
And hurl'st instructive fire about the world ;  
Wake, wake the drowsy and enchanted night,  
That sleeps with dead eyes in this heavy riddle :  
Or thou, great prince of Shades, where never sun  
Sticks his far-darted beams ; whose eyes are made  
To see in darkness, and see ever best  
Where sense is blindest ; open now the heart  
Of thy abashed oracle, that, for fear  
Of some ill it includes, would fain lie hid ;  
And rise thou with it in thy greater light."

Vol. II. pp. 85, 86.

Concerning this Lamb has the following note :—

"This calling upon Light and Darkness for information, but above all, the description of the spirit—'Threw his changed countenance headlong into cloud'—is tremendous, to the curdling of the blood. I know nothing in poetry like it."

In *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, the poet deals with the historic episode of the murder of the Duc de Guise, who has figured in the former play as one of Bussy's murderers ; but the main current of the second play is the course of Clermont d'Ambois in carrying on the blood-feud for his brother. The Count Montsurry, whose feline ferocity was exhibited in the torturing of a woman, appears again, appropriately, as a craven coward. He will not meet Clermont, and barricades himself in his house against the chance of receiving a written challenge. Tamyra, however, who is as "falsely true" to the murdered Bussy as he had been to her, has become reconciled to her husband, apparently with the sole object of revenge. She it is who betrays her husband, not to the hand of a murderer, but to the necessity of meeting Clermont in fair fight. Of course Montsurry is slain, and it is refreshing to find Chapman allowing him a few shreds of real manhood in his death ; for it is true enough that death approaching brings out what is good in a man with an infallible hand. The retribution of this scene is finely balanced, and we do not think the ferocity of a desperate French woman one whit overdrawn in the readiness of Tamyra to murder her hateful husband when he lies down to die like a dog rather than fight out the coil he has involved himself in. Indeed, we should say the women of this piece are particularly

true to the French female character, when roused to that blood-thirstiness that is peculiarly their own; for Bussy's sister Charlotte is far more eager for the *vendetta* than Clermont is, insomuch that her husband says of her:—

“For so on needles’ points  
My wife’s heart stands with haste of the revenge;  
Being (as you know) full of her brother’s fire,  
That she imagines I neglect my vow;  
Keeps off her kind embraces, and still asks  
When, when will this revenge come? when perform’d  
Will this dull vow be? And I vow to heaven  
So sternly, and so past her sex she urges  
My vow’s performance; that I almost fear  
To see her, when I have awhile been absent,  
Not shewing her, before I speak, the blood  
She so much thirsts for, freckling hands and face.”

Vol. II. pp. 106—7.

These ladies enforce very strongly the modern saying—  
“What a terrible nation the French would be if it consisted wholly of French *women*!”

Clermont himself is rather disappointing as a creation. When he finds the Guise is dead he determines, with a fine devotion, to follow him, and accordingly kills himself. This may have been characteristic, but we never can see the nobility of those Roman principles which Chapman, as a devoted classic, was certain to admire, and which, indeed, he has a strong leaning to in his treatment of Cato (in *Cæsar and Pompey*); though we must do him the justice to say that he lets his characters in that tragedy argue out the question of suicide fairly enough.

The remaining hero in the cycle of French plays, the historical Charles Duke of Byron, Marshal of France, is perhaps the most satisfactory of the three: he does not disappoint us in his fall, because he bears about him from the first the marks of that spiritual distemper, ambition, that was bound to be his ruin. Though not amiable altogether, this character is, in some senses, admirable, as imperfect humanity often is. There is a free and noble grandeur of carriage with him, and his weaknesses depend, in a great measure, on the shifting and turbulent character of the age and land in which his feet are set. Having come forward and plucked France out of fearful straits by his intrepid daring and clearness of head, he expects too much for his personal share of the advantages

which a truly great man would have been glad to see accrue for their own sake and the general good. Something of the vigour of this character may be seen from the speech he makes when, in the thick of a conspiracy, he goes disguised to consult an astrologer, and is told that the "figure" he produces is that of a man who will lose his head!

"O death! how far off hast thou kill'd! how soon  
 A man may know too much, though never nothing!  
 Spite of the stars, and all astrology,  
 I will not lose my head: or if I do,  
 A hundred thousand heads shall off before.  
 I am a nobler substance than the stars,  
 And shall the baser overrule the better?  
 Or are they better, since they are the bigger?  
 I have a will, and faculties of choice  
 To do, or not to do: and reason why,  
 I do, or not do this: the stars have none,  
 They know not why they shine, more than this taper,  
 Nor how they work, nor what: I'll change my course,  
 I'll piecemeal pull the frame of all my thoughts,  
 And cast my will into another mould:  
 And where are all your *Caput Algols* then?  
 Your planets all, being underneath the earth,  
 At my nativity: what can they do?  
 Malignant in aspects? in bloody houses?  
 Wild fire consume them; one poor cup of wine,  
 More than I use, that my weak brain will bear,  
 Shall make them drunk and reel out of their spheres,  
 For any certain act they can enforce.  
 O that mine arms were wings, that I might fly,  
 And pluck out of their hearts my destiny!  
 I'll wear those golden spurs upon my heels,  
 And kick at fate; be free all worthy spirits,  
 And stretch yourselves, for greatness and for height:  
 Untruss your slaveries, you have height enough,  
 Beneath this steep heaven to use all your reaches,  
 'Tis too far off, to let you, or respect you.  
 Give me a spirit that on this life's rough sea,  
 Loves t' have his sails fill'd with a lusty wind,  
 Even till his sail-yards tremble, his masts crack,  
 And his rapt ship run on her side so low  
 That she drinks water, and her keel ploughs air:  
 There is no danger to a man that knows  
 What life and death is: there's not any law,  
 Exceeds his knowledge; neither is it lawful

That he should stoop to any other law.  
 He goes before them, and commands them all,  
 That to himself is a law rational."—Vol. II. pp. 227, 228.

But this is a vigour clearly in need of noble balance and just direction, and just the kind of strained psychic force to be best available for pointing such a moral as Chapman indicates in his prologue. He says grandly, after describing the situation of France and the achievement of Byron:—

"He touched heaven with his lance, nor yet was touched  
 With hellish treachery."

Here the sense becomes somewhat obscure, but the outcome is that, although he was "his country's love," he still thirsted, and had recourse to "hellish treachery," compared to a spring—

"Of which empoisoned spring, when policy drinks,  
 He bursts in growing great; and rising, sinks:  
 Which now behold in our conspirator,  
 And see in his revolt, how honour's flood  
 Ebbs into air, when men are great, not good."

Vol. II. p. 186.

The great fault in all these four plays is the ruling fault of Chapman's dramatic art,—the tendency to supply the place of real knowledge of the world with didactic excursions. These are extremely fine as abstract poetry, but when overdone, as in the present case, they necessarily tend to falsify or impoverish the general aspect of the work, and obstruct the dramatic current. Still, we maintain that, with all faults of construction and flaws of conception, these plays are not written with that constant inward gaze implied in the accusation that the author "could not go out of himself;" but with an outward gaze, keen and correct enough up to the limits of the somewhat narrow circle of tradition whereby the author's vision was circumscribed.

We have yet to speak specially of two tragedies by Chapman which, from the dates of publication, should be judged to be the most mature of his dramatic works; and to either of which, though of less individual importance than the whole French cycle of plays, must be awarded a higher place as a work of art than can be awarded to any one of those. *The Tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperor of*

*Germany*, and *Revenge for Honour*, were both first published in 1654, as we have already remarked, twenty years after Chapman's death. The former, to judge from the title-page, had acquired a considerable popularity; for we read there the words, "as it hath been very often acted (with great applause) at the private house in Blackfriars, by his late Majesty's servants;" words the most important of which we do not see used in reference to any of the plays published in the author's lifetime. Certainly this popularity—whether it was purely posthumous, as is most frequently the case with anything good, or whether the author enjoyed somewhat of it during his life-time—was well deserved. We may reasonably hope that the play had been acted and applauded before the worthy man closed his labours and took his rest; and for that matter, the same hope may extend to *Revenge for Honour*, concerning which we are not even told in the title-page whether it was ever acted or not. Both these plays are greatly in advance of all the others in purely artistic qualities, and no whit behind any of them in nobility of thought. In the *Alphonsus* we have real dramatic pathos, as distinguished from the lyric pathos abundant enough in Chapman's verse; and in *Revenge for Honour* there is high tragedy, and a masterly treatment of a very difficult plot. In both these plays, too, one remarks a comparative freedom from those faults we have dwelt upon in discussing the rest of the author's dramatic works.

*Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, tells the story of a villain of the first water, profoundly studied and conceived, and subtly executed, and not of one villain only; for there is another character as villainous as the Emperor himself, or nearly so. The Emperor is a Spaniard in difficult occupation of the Imperial German throne; and one thread of the drama is the desperate political plotting and counter-plotting of this leading man and of the seven Electors of the German Empire,—in which also are concerned Richard, Duke of Cornwall, an aspirant to the Imperial throne, and Prince Edward of England. But there are private plottings most mercilessly involved in this main thread of the action. Hedewick, the daughter of the Duke of Saxony, who is one of the seven Electors, marries Prince Edward; and the black-hearted Emperor, partly to serve his ends and partly from sheer villainy, so arranges matters that, although the young couple are torn apart on the very day of the marriage,



the bride becomes the mother of a child which she believes to be Prince Edward's and which Prince Edward knows to be someone else's. This is arranged through the agency of the other villain we have alluded to,—the page Alexander. This infamous young wretch is the son of the Emperor's secretary, murdered in the first act by the Emperor's own hand, as knowing too much; and with a subtlety that is truly admirable from a dramatic point of view, the mind of Alexander is wrought to the belief that the Empress Isabella was the author of his father's death, and that certain of the Emperor's enemies were concerned in it. Alexander becomes transformed into an instrument of unscrupulous revenge; and among the most original and abominable of his deeds of vengeance is his personation of Prince Edward on the night of the marriage. The Princess Hedewick is drawn with great tenderness and delicacy: her broken English and scraps of German-English are extremely touching; and by enlisting our sympathies with her thoroughly at the outset, the dramatist renders the tragic *dénouement* tenfold more tragic. The outraged Duke of Saxony, on the Prince's repeated denial of fatherhood to Hedewick's child, dashes out the infant's brains, and kills his daughter before the Prince's eyes; and it is only after the principal author of this misery has at length fallen a victim to his subtle tool Alexander that the truth is made apparent. The last scene in the Emperor's life is a tremendous conception. He has determined on the death of his wife Isabella, and her nephew Prince Edward; but at the end his own fate hangs on a doubtful contest of troops. Determined not to be foiled in the matter of these two deaths, he sits grimly with two daggers in his hands, and with the two intended victims bound, in order that he may despatch them instantly with his own hands if his troops lose the day. Hearing from Alexander that the day is lost, he loses nerve, confesses the murder of the page's father, and requests to be despatched before the conquerors are upon him. Alexander binds him to carry out this request, and then tells him that he has been deceived,—that the Imperial troops have won, not lost, and that he only said the contrary to secure the immediate death of the Empress and Prince. The matching of this devilish Emperor with a monster as devilish in cunning and cruelty as himself, and mainly of his own shaping, is masterly in the highest degree; and the remorseless

retribution of the following dialogue is worthy of Webster :—

"Art thou not mad to think on this deceit?  
I'll make thee madder, with tormenting thee.  
I tell thee arch-thief, villain, murderer,  
Thy forces have obtained the victory,  
Victory leads thy foes in captive bands;  
This victory hath crown'd thee emperor,  
Only myself have vanquished victory,  
And triumph in the victor's overthrow.

*Alphon.*—O Alexander, spare thy prince's life.

*Alex.*—Even now thou didst entreat the contrary.

*Alphon.*—Think what I am that beg my life of thee:

*Alex.*—Think what he was whom thou hast doom'd to death.

But lest the princes do surprise us here  
Before I have perform'd my strange revenge,  
I will be sudden in the execution.

*Alphon.*—I will accept any condition.

*Alex.*—Then in the presence of the Emperess,  
The captive Prince of England, and myself,  
Forswear the joys of heaven, the sight of God,  
Thy soul's salvation, and thy Saviour Christ,  
Damning thy soul to endless pains of hell.  
Do this or die upon my rapier's point.

*Emp.*—Sweet lord and husband, spit in's face.

Die like a man, and live not like a devil.

*Alex.*—What? will thou save thy life, and damn thy soul?

*Alphon.*—O hold thy hand, Alphonsus doth renounce—

*Edward.*—Aunt stop your ears, hear not this blasphemy.

*Emp.*—Sweet husband, think that Christ did die for thee.

*Alphon.*—Alphonsus doth renounce the joys of heaven,  
The sight of angels and his Saviour's blood,  
And gives his soul unto the devil's power.

*Alex.*—Thus will I make delivery of the deed,  
Die and be damn'd, now am I satisfied."

Vol. III. pp. 276, 277.

Herr Karl Elze's edition of this tragedy, published at Leipzig in 1867, contains an admirable discussion of the probable sources of Chapman's minute knowledge of German life and the German tongue as indicated throughout the work. He concludes that Chapman had a *collaborateur* to help him out in the German colouring; and we are certainly disposed to doubt whether Chapman had ever travelled sufficiently to get the requisite knowledge at first-hand.

*Revenge for Honour* represents Eastern life ; and in this we should not find it necessary to assume either collaboration or travel on account of any minuteness of local detail ; though one assumption or the other is absolutely necessary in the case of the *Alphonsus*. Ambition and love are the two prime movers in the action of *Revenge for Honour* ; and these being much the same passions all over the world, and in all ages, there was no need for local colour. The characterisation in this play is graphic and defined in a high degree, the personages having a marked and separate individuality far more than it is usual to find in Chapman's dramas. The plot is most ingenious and the execution of it extremely dexterous ; and it has the pleasant merit that at two critical issues, without any abruptness of treatment, the current of events turns in a manner not easy to foresee. One of these issues is the escape of Abilqualit from a diabolical trap laid for his life ; and the other is his death by the hand of his mistress after he has triumphed over his foes, and succeeded to the throne of his father, Almanzor, Caliph of Arabia, in the face of the greatest imaginable coil of difficulties. This last is a piece of high tragedy : Abilqualit has got himself into dire straits through an unconquerable passion for Caropia, the wife of Mura ; she has at last given herself up to him ; but in the whirlpool of treachery and violence that brings Abilqualit to the surface in the end, Caropia is killed ; and her last act is to stab Abilqualit, confessing that she only yielded to him for ambition's sake, and could not brook another woman's sharing the throne with him. This conclusion makes one doubt whether Mr. Pearson's editor, who talks about the "yielding softness of Caropia," has even read this play. Commend us to such "yielding softness," able to execute with so firm a hand so deadly a "revenge for honour !"

Being concerned with Chapman as a dramatist, we have been regarding his plays mainly from the simply dramatic point of view ; but in the case of an author so justly in high repute for reflective and purely poetic qualities, we should fail in justice if we did not attempt to cull for our readers some few passages of poetic beauty and sententious utterance. As we have spoken somewhat harshly of the early comedies we are glad to draw upon them for such a passage as the following pretty speech in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* :—

"But come, sweet love, if thou wilt come with me  
 We two will live amongst the shadowy groves,  
 And we will sit like shepherds on a hill,  
 And with our heavenly voices 'tice the trees,  
 To echo sweetly to our celestial tunes.  
 Else will I angle in the running brooks,  
 Seasoning our toils with kisses on the banks;  
 Sometime I'll dive into the murmuring springs,  
 And fetch thee stones to hang about thy neck,  
 Which, by thy splendour, will be turn'd to pearl;  
 Say, fair Aspasia, wilt thou walk with me?"

Vol. I. p. 40.

With equal pleasure we gather from among the rank conceptions of character in *An Humorous Day's Mirth* such a reflection as the following, uttered by a reputed idiot:—

"'Quid Dei potes videri, magnum in rebus humanis  
 Quæ eterni omnes,' to thy 'usque notas sic omnibus magna tutor,'  
 What can seem strange to him on earthly things,  
 To whom the whole course of eternity  
 And the round compass of the world is known?  
 A speech divine, but yet I marvel much  
 How it should spring from thee, Mark Cicero,  
 That sold for glory the sweet peace of life,  
 And made a torment of rich nature's work,  
 Wearing thyself by watchful candle-light  
 When all the smiths and weavers were at rest."—*Ib.* p. 75.

In these same plays are many admirable remarks on various subjects; and indeed they share the common virtue of the author's works, that the more you read them the more you find to admire in them.

In *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* is an æsthetic discussion from which we take a scrap on poetic speech, and another on the contemporary theatre:—

"Worthiest poets  
 Shun common and plebeian forms of speech,  
 Every illiberal and affected phrase,  
 To clothe their matter; and together tie  
 Matter and form with art and decency."

"Men thither come to laugh and feed fool-fat,  
 Check at all goodness there as being profaned;  
 When wheresoever goodness comes, she makes  
 The place still sacred, though with other feet  
 Never so much 'tis scandalled and polluted."—Vol. II. p. 113.

Through the presence of Cato, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* is rich in wisdom; but not always in a condensed form: occasionally we get there such aphoristic lines as—

“The greatest clerks are not the wisest men,”

conveying a great deal in a small space; but this tragedy is not so fruitful in quotable passages as many others. One of the most fruitful is *Byron's Tragedy*, in which King Henry utters some fine things, as for instance the couplet—

“Trust that deceives ourselves is treachery,  
And truth that truth conceals an open lie.”

Vol. II. p. 288.

But the King is outdone by the Duke de Byron in weight of utterance, especially as the tragedy draws towards its close, and the Duke is in the state admirably described thus:—

“Fury hath armed his thoughts so thick with thorns,  
That rest can have no entry.”—*Ib.* p. 295.

In this state of mind his ponderous rhetoric rises to a great height. He opens a speech on his impeachment with the daring figure—

“O all ye virtuous powers, in earth and heaven,  
That have not put on *hellish flesh and blood* ;”—*Ib.* p. 301—

and on learning what lord has betrayed him to the King, he breaks out with—

“A Lord intelligencer? hangman-like,  
Thrust him from human fellowship, to the desert  
Blow him with curses; shall your justice call  
Treachery her father? Would you wish her weigh  
My valour with the hiss of such a viper.”—*Ib.* p. 302.

A little further on his speech takes a sublimity peculiar to Chapman; and the figure of the tied vengeance in the following lines is tremendous:—

“When king's wills pass; the stars wink, and the sun  
Suffers eclipse: rude thunder yields to them  
His horrid wings: sits smooth as glass engazed,  
And lightning sticks 'twixt heaven and earth amaz'd:  
Men's faiths are shaken; and the pit of truth  
O'erflows with darkness, in which justice sits

And keeps her vengeance tied to make it fierce ;  
 And when it comes, th' encreased horrors show,  
 Heavens plague is sure, though full of state, and slow."  
 —*Ib.* p. 307.

We must, however, leave the pleasant process of culling fine things to devote a few pages, in conclusion, to Mr. Pearson's editor,—a task by no means pleasant, as we do not find he has carried out in any respectable measure even the revision of the proofs.

The correction of obvious errors, which he professes to have made, of course deprives the collection of the special value attaching to *fac-simile* reprints; and unless this system of correction be very thoroughly carried out, it had much better be left altogether on one side. Our impression of this series of Chapman's plays is that a very little less correcting of the texts, and an additional amount of care in correcting the press, would have resulted in a veritable *verbatim* reprint; and with that we should have been thoroughly satisfied. With the volumes as they stand, we are not altogether satisfied; because, although we give Mr. Pearson full credit for the spirit of enterprise he has shown in reprinting this and other capital sets of volumes, in an extremely antiquated and appropriate style, such as can only be acceptable to the limited higher class of readers, still we have grave doubts as to the manner in which his intentions have been carried out by the person employed to write the memoir and edit the text. The editor of such texts as Chapman's, even if merely reprinted *verbatim*, should be a man of some considerable intelligence; but we should imagine that some of the best printing-houses must employ "readers" who are amply qualified for such a task. The editor of a revised text of Chapman, on the other hand, should be a man of a very high intelligence—far above the highest printer's-reader standard; but even that standard, we regret to think, would be too high to try Mr. Pearson's editor by. The number of obvious clerical blunders which he has left in these volumes is enough to shake one's faith in the *bona fides* of his professions as to his editorial work. He says he has corrected obvious errors; but when we find throughout the three volumes, as we do, innumerable repetitions of words, substitutions of commas for periods, and *vice versa*, we begin to doubt whether these are not errors of



carelessness in the reproduction. At all events, such errors as these are only excusable on the plea of *fac-simile* reproduction; and, so far as the editor's culpability is concerned, it matters but little whether he has omitted to correct them as errors in the original texts, or let them creep into the reprint through want of watchfulness.

It would be a tedious business, and indeed almost impracticable, to compare the reprint with the original quartos, all of which are scarce, and some altogether beyond the reach of ordinary mortals. Printing in England, at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, was notoriously slovenly and incorrect to the last degree; but supposing the number of blunders in these three volumes to be about equal to the number in a set of the quartos, we must assume that Chapman was rather worse served by the printers than most of the dramatists of his day, or else that he was himself a very bad corrector of the press. There is little doubt that he was in the habit of correcting proofs of his plays, as he complains, concerning his *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, of "the unexpected haste of the printer, which he never let me know, and never sending me a proof, till he had past those speeches; I had no reason to imagine he could have been so forward." How he would have dealt with the proof, in matters of spelling, punctuation, and mere typographical correctness, we are not in a position to judge with certainty; but we suspect he is himself chargeable with a good deal of the inaccuracy of his texts. Probably if he had proofs sent to him, the printer of those days relied on him somewhat; and, to judge from the frequent looseness of his style, he was not a scrupulously accurate person. We should suppose, from the elaborately antiquated appearance of these reprints, that great care was taken as to the main features of the material get-up, whatever be the quality of the compositors' and reader's work; and we should deem it safe to assume that, when a page is here set up in lines, like verse, it was so set up in the quarto, when it is here set up in paragraphs, like prose, the quarto was the authority for that also. Now it is remarkable that some of the plays are full of passages, mainly poetic and divisible into iambic lines, but set up in paragraphs, while others are full of pure prose passages, divided into lines, each commencing with a capital letter. This would seem to argue an entire

want of nicety in details, such as one associates with great carelessness; and, indeed, it corresponds with the curious fashion Chapman has, in common with many other Elizabethan dramatists, of lapsing now into prose pure and simple, now into semi-rhythmic prose, and now into prosaic irregular verse. The paragraph opening the "pleasant comedie, entituled" *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, is full of poetic expression, and divisible into lines, most of which are admirable ones, though some are shaky enough to illustrate what we have just said. Set in lines, the paragraph, which we give in the orthography and punctuation of the original,\* as a specimen, runs thus:—

"Yet hath the morning sprinkled throwt the clowdes,  
 But halfe her tincture and the soyle of night  
 Sticke still upon the bosome of the ayre:  
 Yet sleepe doth rest my love for Natures debt  
 And through her windowe, and this dim twee-light,  
 Her maide, nor any waking I can see.  
 This is the holy Greene, my wifes close walke,  
 To which not any but herselfe alone  
 Hath any key, onely that I have clapt  
 Her key in waxe, and made this counterfeite,  
 To the which I steal accesse to worke this rare  
 & politike device: Faire is my wife  
 And yong and delicate, although too religious  
 In the purest sorte, but pure religion being  
 But mental stuffe, and sence, indeed, al for it selfe,  
 Is to be doubted, that when an object comes  
 Fit to her humour she wil intercept  
 Religious letters sent unto her minde,  
 And yeeld unto the motion of her bloud,  
 Heere have I brought then two rich agots for her,  
 Graven with two poses of mine own devising,  
 For Poets Ile not trust, nor friends, nor any."

Vol. I. p. 51.

It is only after the twelfth line that there is any question as between prose and verse: the rhythmic quality of the first twelve lines is extremely high; but when the dotard, who has uttered thus far poetically, begins his stupid drivel about his wife's religion, he lapses towards prose. We doubt whether this was intentional art on the part of

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\* It will be noticed that we have not retained the obsolete spelling and punctuation throughout our extracts.

Chapman, but rather suspect he fell into one of his dozes on the borderland between verse and prose; for the passage is prosy more by its feebleness and dryness than by its quality of rhythm; and, indeed, some of the noblest fiery passages in *Bussy d'Ambois* have lines in them quite as rough as—

“And young and delicate, although too religious,”

or—

“Is to be doubted, that when an object comes;”

and Chapman also frequently introduces into his finer speeches and dialogue Alexandrines as distinct as—

“But mental stuffe, and sence, indeed, al for it selfe,”

though they are seldom hard and prosy like that, unless the matter is hard and prosy. It is to be noticed here that even the metaphor of intercepting “religious letters sent unto her minde,” by which he leads back to poetic style, is, in itself, of a prosaic though ingenious character.

Our present concern, however, for the moment, is more with Chapman's editor than with himself; and we must not digress further into criticism on his style and method. Our readers will understand that we have not undertaken the task of collating this reprint with all the quartos; but in reading the plays we have noted down the numerous instances in which there are obvious blunders, which, even if they are in the quartos, should, on the plan professed by the editor, have been corrected. We have already hinted that we do not credit the quartos with these blunders at all; and, in order that we might have something more than mere surmise to go upon, we have been at the pains of collating one of the original editions with Mr. Pearson's reprint. The one we have chosen for this purpose is the *Cæsar and Pompey*; and we must premise that, in our copy of the reprint, that play is rather less thickly marked as to blunders than most of them are. However, in the course of the five acts (sixty-eight pages), we had noted no less than eighteen errors,\* of a most careless character, and

\* We give chapter and verse, as follows:—*Cæsar and Pompey* is in Vol. II. (1) P. 130, l. 4, a period wrongly put at the end of the line. (2) P. 134, l. 38, “tton” for “then.” (3) P. 141, l. 8, “O Villaine” for “A Villaine.” (4) P. 141, l. 32, “theu” for “then.” (5) P. 145, l. 15, “Thou thou,” for “Though thou.” (6) P. 149, l. 13, “Vit.” for “Vib.” (7) P. 149, l. 28, “Cas.” for “Cæs.” (8) P. 155, l. 25, “mfngl'd” for “mingl'd.” (9) P. 164, l. 6, “Cnth.” for “Anth.” (10) P. 164, l. 32, “O blest even” for

not one of which appears, on reference, in the quarto. This yields an average, for the whole work, of nearly a hundred errors per volume of between three and four hundred pages! We should recommend Mr. Pearson to change his editor as soon as possible, if he intends to go on with this valuable series of reprints, as we sincerely hope he does. If all of the quartos are of much the same character as the *Cæsar and Pompey*,—and we see no reason to doubt this, looking at the general style of language and printing in that day,—they are by no means easy things to edit, even on the principle of correcting obvious clerical blunders. But an editor who makes at least as many fresh blunders as he removes old ones, is some few degrees worse than useless.

The passage quoted at page 57 is, judging from the *Cæsar and Pompey*, a fair sample of Chapman's text. It will be admitted that modern orthography and punctuation would render it much more widely acceptable, and that a well-edited text is, thus, still a desideratum. Let us hope that, now so noble a poet is once fairly launched before the intellectual classes, he will find among them an editor who will carry him further.

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"A blest even." (11) P. 165, l. 3, "sowles" for "*fowles*." (12) P. 176, l. 19, "sull" for "full." (13) P. 178, l. 28, "beleese" for "belesfe." (14) P. 180, l. 10, "sarre" for "farre." (15) P. 185, l. 31, "fo" for "so." (16) P. 185, l. 33, "Arch." for "Ach." (17) P. 187, l. 31, "at" for "Cat." (18) P. 191, l. 3, "Cor." for "Por." Not one of these blunders is chargeable on the quarto, as we have already stated. We do not say these are all the errors in the reprint: there may be many more; but these eighteen we have marked in reading. The catalogue of them will not interest most of our readers, but it is a "voucher," and will serve as a table of errata for anyone who happens to have the volumes, and who cares to correct that play.

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- ART. III.—1. *The Traveller's Guide in Sweden.* ADOLF BONNIER. Stockholm. 1871.  
 2. *Histoire de Suède.* GEYER. Paris. 1844.  
 3. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.* 1871.

THE tourist who has exhausted the well-worn tracks of Continental travel, may relieve the monotony of his holiday experiences by turning his steps to Sweden, where he will find charming scenery, easy locomotion, kindly people, a delicious summer climate, and—under our breath let us say it—moderate hotel bills.

At the present time, Sweden is a much cheaper country to travel in than Norway. It is true the scenery is not so grand, but it has a peculiar charm of its own; and all the most remarkable points of interest are easily accessible to the ordinary traveller. To those who are ambitious of touring adventures, the wilder parts of Dalecarlia and the extreme north of Sweden will offer plenty of opportunity for "roughing it."

Before touching on the writer's impressions during a recent tour in the country, there is something to be said of the history and political position of Sweden in times past. Unless we try to rearrange the chess-board of Europe and watch the game that was played by the political pieces in the seventeenth century, we shall hardly realise with accuracy the influence of Sweden when she was the foremost defender of the political as well as the religious result of the great Reformation. During the Thirty Years' War Sweden possessed the undoubted supremacy in Northern Europe. In his new edition of *Whitelock's Memorials*, Mr. Reeve says, "Well would it have been for Europe if Sweden had retained the position to which her greatest sovereign and minister had raised her, and if the insane audacity of Charles XII. had not sunk before the barbarous but creative genius of Peter the Great."

Whitelock, it will be remembered, was ambassador from the Commonwealth of England to Queen Christina of Sweden. This embassy, the political results of which were conceived and calculated by Cromwell himself, "laid the basis," says Mr. Reeve, "of that close amity between Sweden and this country which has seldom been interrupted and

never but to our mutual injury. But though the power of Britain has increased in that interval and the power of Sweden has declined, many of the same considerations and inducements exist in equal or in greater force at this moment to lead the statesmen of England to give their best support to the Crown of Sweden and to desire that Sweden should regain that ascendancy in the Baltic which she so gloriously acquired and exercised in the seventeenth century."

The prominent position of Sweden at that period was the more remarkable, when we reflect how late the country was in taking her place in Christendom. Paganism lingered in Scandinavia longer than in any other country of Western Europe; it was not till the tenth century that the Kings of Upsala (the chief temple of the old gods) embraced Christianity, calling themselves henceforth Kings of Sweden. Even two centuries later than this, the belief in Odin and Thor lingered in the minds of a superstitious peasantry, isolated from European progress by geographical position and surrounded by the sterner aspects of nature. Even now the name of Odin is not entirely lost; he is regarded as a demon, and angry people consign their friends to his protection, as the devil is invoked elsewhere. Geyer, in his account of Sweden, says that "there are districts where the peasants still leave a bundle of hay for Odin's horses."

The Church of Rome has ever wisely temporised with popular prejudice, and the monks, during the early days of Christianity in Sweden, interfered as little as possible with the customs of the people. Christian celebrations were engrafted on heathen festivals. At Jul-blot, as Christmas is still called in adherence to its ancient name, many observances that have their root in Paganism are even now preserved. The recollections of Yggdrasil, the great ash-tree which represented the universe in the early Scandinavian mythology, are interwoven in a most remarkable manner in some of the mediæval traditions relating to the tree of the Cross. The Dalecarlia St. John's Day is identical with the season when they held high festival in honour of Balder.

In christenings and burials many old Pagan rites have left their trace in the tenacious superstitions of the people. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Scandinavian mythology was the power which they attributed to Runes or Norse letters. Besides Odin, who was repre-



sented as the master of Runes, the poets and prophets were supposed to possess the secret and the power of Runes.

Some of the Runic characters resemble the Roman alphabet; but Frederic Von Schlegel thinks that the Phœnicians in all probability visited the coasts of the Baltic, and, carrying the art of writing to these northern regions, gave a common origin to their letters.

Grimm supposes that *rune* is derived from *runen* (i.e. to make a slight incision or scratch). There were "runes of victory," "storm runes," "herb runes," and "mind runes." When the ignorant people found that ideas were communicated through these runes they attributed to them a mysterious influence; and, as "knowledge is power," they supposed that the initiated were enabled to cast Runic spells over their enemies. The willow wands on which these mysterious characters were inscribed were anciently used in the performance of magic ceremonies, but in later days came to be employed for noting the succession of time—a sort of rude almanac which is still in vogue. These notched sticks, moreover, were used in keeping ordinary accounts between families and the persons from whom they received their daily supplies. The same things, formerly in common use with us, are called tallies. It is Swift who says:—

" From his rug the skew'r he takes,  
And on the stick ten equal notches makes,  
With just resentment flings it on the ground;  
There, take my tally for ten thousand pound."

The changes which have come over popular customs and superstitions, as ignorance and the mysteries of the unknown are cleared away, remind one of the lines of the Swedish poet Tegnér, who says:—

" The old will not for ever last,  
Nor can custom's worn-out codes  
Be again renewed for aye;  
That must perish which corrodes,  
And the new must rise like day  
From the ruins of the past."

Modern researches into the folk-lore of Scandinavia have revealed the mythological origin of many of our nursery tales, such as *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Cinderella*, *Puss in Boots*, &c. Trolldom, or witchcraft, is regarded as a potent spell even now. When a child is born, care is taken to keep fire

burning in the room till it is baptized, or the "troll" will exchange it for another. The northern side of the churchyard is spoken of as "the black north," the abode of evil. At Christmas the floor is strewed with sprigs of juniper, which emit a very pleasant odour; and in a propitiatory spirit, when the Jul lights are lighted, a tankard is set apart, called *angla öl*, or angel's ale. Games, too, are played which are said to represent sacrificial dances.

There is a curious superstition amongst the people connected with their conversion to Christianity, which is, that those of their ancestors who have died heathens are supposed to be doomed to *serve* till the day of judgment, and they remain as an invisible presence in the house. Every household has its *Tomte Gubbe*, or "little old man," who is a friendly sort of fellow. He loves cleanliness and thriftiness, and if these excellent qualities are not observed he is supposed to be very angry, and the house will not prosper in consequence. The inmates must be kind to all the animals; he is as good as a "Prevention of Cruelty Society," and punishes those who are not merciful to their beasts. At Christmas, if the shoes of all the household are laid together at bedtime, the "little old man" will take care that there is unanimity in the family through the coming year.

One of the earliest benefits resulting to Sweden from the introduction of Christianity was that the peasants, incited by the priesthood, laboured at making roads and bridges. They were taught that it was a means of working out their salvation, and it was not uncommon for a son to build a bridge for the benefit of his deceased father's soul.

The quarrel which was rife in the Middle Ages between the nobles and the peasants throughout Western Europe was the cause of much intestine commotion in Sweden. Magnus the First, who came to the throne in 1275—a man in advance of his times—showed great wisdom and firmness in putting down the oppressive conduct of the nobles. The Kings of Sweden have generally been on the side of the people, against the nobility and the hierarchy. Birger Jarl, the founder of Stockholm, succeeded Magnus, and enacted many excellent laws for the protection of the weak against the strong. Women, who had hitherto been the victims of rapacity and oppression were specially protected by his wise and humane legislation. The old chronicle says that when he died "the women of Sweden wailed

and bemoaned his decease." It is a remarkable fact that the Swedes were four centuries in advance of us in acknowledging the great moral truth, that slavery is a crime against humanity. Thorkill, the minister of Birger Jarl, passed a law against the sale of slaves, on the ground "That it was in the highest degree criminal for Christians to sell men whom Christ had redeemed with His blood."

The darkest pages of Sweden's history are those connected with Denmark. The dissensions in Scandinavia in the fourteenth century were arrested by the defeat of the Swedes, and the union of the three kingdoms was effected under the sovereignty of the Danish Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, as she was called. The well-known treaty of Calmar (a compact resulting from her ambitious diplomacy) weighed heavily upon Sweden for more than a century, impeding the natural development of a people who specially demanded independence.

Whatever modern enthusiasts, like Grundtvig, may say of the "Trefoil," as the Pan-Scandinavians delight to call the three kingdoms, history shows us little else but antagonism among these northern people. Certain it is that Sweden's prosperity dates from the time when she shook herself free from the tyrannous grasp of Denmark.

This event was hastened by the "Bloodbad" (blood-bath) of Stockholm—a crime which stands in the judgment roll of history side by side with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. This crime was nothing less than a general assassination of Swedish nobles, under circumstances of peculiar treachery, by order of Christian II. of Denmark. It is said that six hundred persons fell victims to the monster's cruelty. The father of Gustavus Vasa—a name indissolubly connected with Swedish history—was slain on this occasion, and it was to avenge both public and private wrongs that his heroic son came forward as the liberator of his country. There are few more romantic stories than the narrative of the long wanderings and hair-breadth escapes of the younger Vasa. His high birth and early promise of personal distinction, even while a youth, had rendered him an object of jealousy to the Danish Court. He was detained in a sort of honourable imprisonment; but on hearing that the Danes made a boast that "They would kill all the richest nobles of Sweden and marry their widows," he resolved to effect his escape and return to aid his country. There is a quaint description in the old

chronicles of how he got safe to Lubeck disguised as a cattle-drover, and remained there eight months, to the great perplexity of the good merchants, who, for a long time, were uncertain whether to deliver him up to Denmark, or to give him material help to prosecute the national struggle for independence. Nils Brönn, the burgo-master, was his friend, and he pointed out to his colleagues that the Danish monarchs had already curtailed the commerce and power of the Hanse towns, and that this brave knight might help to set bounds to these encroachments.

Accordingly Gustavus was honourably despatched to Sweden, supplied with money and munitions of war. The fortress of Stockholm was in the hands of the Swedes, and, like Calmar, both places were defended by noble ladies, the widows of the late governors. Kristina Gyllenstierna, who held Stockholm, gladly welcomed Gustavus, but the want of unanimity amongst the townsfolk prevented him from successfully aiding the cause of liberation. He just managed to escape the general massacre of the "Bloodbad," which followed his arrival in the capital, and, with some other nobles who had been outlawed by the brutal Christian, fled for safety to the forests of Dalecarlia, or Delarne, as it really is called by the Swedes.

This wild, but most picturesque district, with its vast forests, its green valleys, and innumerable lakes, is inhabited by a bold, independent, and loyal race; their character, like their costume, has remained unchanged to this day. They made it their boast "that Dalecarlia could send 20,000 white-coated men who would live on bread and water, and when that failed, on the bark of trees pounded."

It was amongst these people that Gustavus, having cut off his flowing locks and assumed the garb of a peasant, sought a refuge till the evil time should be overpast. The Dalesmen, like all Swedes, are well up in the history of their country, and they delight to point out each spot where their great hero had sought shelter and hospitality during his perilous sojourn amongst them, when his steps were tracked by the brutal foe who sought his life at every turn. Thrice he was saved by woman's wit. It was the wife of Larsson, whose homestead was on lake Siljan, who huddled him into the cellar and rolled an ale-tub over the trap-door, when the Danish spies appeared on the threshold. It was his hostess at Ornas who saved him from the

treachery of her husband. The window of the house is still shown from which she let him down by means of that long narrow towelling they use in Sweden. She had provided a sledge, and, guided by the bright starlight of the clear night, he sped over the frozen lake Runn, and found shelter with a trusty friend on the other side. Gustavus was obliged to be constantly changing his quarters like a hunted beast of the field. On one occasion the Danish soldiers actually entered a cottage in the hamlet of Isala, where he was. The wife of Sven Elfsson, the owner, was engaged at the time in baking, and seeing how matters stood, she turned to Gustavus and gave him a smart whack across the back with a bread shovel, saying, "Why do you stand there, you lout, gaping at strangers? Be off with you to the barn and thrash." Gustavus took the hint, and assuming the gait of a boorish fellow, made good his retreat.

We all know how he succeeded at length in rousing the whole country to throw off the yoke of their enemies, and in 1523 the Danes were finally driven out of Sweden. At a meeting of the States the Liberator was elected King, and thus was inaugurated a new era of the highest importance to the country.

Gustavus Vasa took the most efficacious means of supporting the new edifice of his power when he adopted the Reformation. The wealth and tyrannical conduct of the Romish clergy had long been extremely offensive to the Swedes—a people peculiarly addicted to free institutions. When their leader accepted the doctrines of Luther, and as a practical result abolished two-thirds of the Church revenues, he did that which was exceedingly popular with the large majority, the strength of whose religious convictions was equalled, if not exceeded, by their hatred of the Romish priesthood.

Schiller says of Vasa that "he rescued Sweden from vassalage—reformed it by wise laws, and introduced, for the first time, this newly organised State into the field of European politics." He goes on to say, "What this great prince had merely sketched in rude outline, was filled up by Gustavus Adolphus, his still greater grandson."

It is said that when Charles IX., an honest-intentioned man, was in a desponding state of mind over his difficult and manifold enterprises, he would place his hand on the head of Gustavus Adolphus, then a mere child, and say, "*Ille faciet.*" Never was a prophecy better fulfilled!

The commencement of the seventeenth century beheld the terrible tragedy of the "Thirty Years' War," in which Sweden was destined to play the important part. It was in 1628 that Protestant Europe invited Gustavus Adolphus to become the leader of the coalition formed to oppose Austria's scheme for restoring the Papal supremacy in Europe.

"Throughout that contest," remarks Mr. Reeve, "England had borne no part in it worthy of herself or of the great cause which was at stake. It was Sweden which had played the glorious part of champion and leader of the Protestant cause, and which sent forth the heroic Gustavus and the politic Oxenstiern to vindicate the rights of the Protestant States."

It was long after Gustavus had found a hero's death at Lutzen that Oxenstiern, in 1648, directed from Stockholm the preliminary negotiation which led to the Peace of Westphalia. That treaty put an end to years of warfare, which, statistics prove, had caused the waste and destruction in Germany of three-quarters of her population, and eighty per cent. of live stock. "Two hundred years after the war," says Freytag, "Germany had not recovered her losses."

The son of Oxenstiern was one of the envoys who signed the treaty. Writing to his father, he expressed diffidence in conducting such important diplomatic affairs, owing to his youth and inexperience. To this the sagacious old minister made the answer, so often quoted since, "You do not know, my son, with how little wisdom mankind are governed."

By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden obtained the German duchies of Bremen, Verden, Hither Pomerania, a part of Further Pomerania, and Wismar, with a seat in the German Diet.

Whitelock, ambassador from the Commonwealth of England, was present at Stockholm when Queen Christina abdicated the throne in 1654. His description of the scene is most graphic, and his account of his perilous journeyings and strange adventures in Sweden makes a most amusing book of historical travel, not easily matched for its racy humour. There is a story of how he fell out with the Mayor of Köping, who denied assistance to Whitelock's people on their journey, and "gave ill language of the English Parliament, saying that they had killed their



king, and were a company of tailors and cobblers." Whitelock haughtily demanded satisfaction, and the civic functionary was soon obliged to eat his words with many humble speeches. At Court, Whitelock asserted his claim to precedence against all comers, even in the sight of the Queen; she observed the passage of arms, and smilingly remarked, "You do well to make them know themselves and you the better." This little incident took place at the audience which the Queen gave to the envoy of the Czar of Muscovy. Amongst the assemblage "who marvelled at the uncouth appearance and barbarous manners of this savage emissary, none could have surmised that less than a century would transfer the supremacy of the North from the descendants of the immortal Gustavus to the despotic power which had not yet emerged from the Russian Steppes."

The influence and advantage which the country derived from the "Thirty Years' War" were almost entirely lost to her by the mad ambition of Charles XII. "When his splendid army," says Geyer, "was finally destroyed at Pultowa, in 1709, the glorious period of Swedish history ends, and henceforth she sunk into a second-rate power."

When the direct line of the House of Vasa ended, the House of Holstein was elected by the States, and had the merit of producing one good king, Gustavus III. Like his contemporary, Joseph II. of Austria, whom he resembled in many particulars, he was a sincere reformer, and a man of enlightened views. He succeeded in bringing about a bloodless revolution, and established a new constitution. He abolished the practice of torture, reformed the administration of justice, cleared the army and navy of many corruptions, and greatly encouraged the arts of peace and commerce.

Following up the advantages he had acquired by the revolution, Gustavus aimed a decisive blow against the prerogatives of the nobles, and at the last Diet he assisted at he proclaimed the "Union and Safety Act." It was shortly after this that he was assassinated at a masked ball in the Opera House, leaving his work of reformation to be accomplished by the reigning dynasty.

For several years after 1792, when Gustavus fell, Sweden had much trouble with her kings; his son and successor was dismissed for involving the country in wars which caused the loss of Sweden's two finest provinces, Finland

and Pomerania. The exhaustive wars in which the country had been engaged had drained her physical resources, and it is calculated that in the first decade of this century Sweden did not possess three millions of inhabitants, and in this estimate Finland was included. The present population is estimated at nearly four millions and a half.

The loss of Finland was a dreadful blow to Sweden, for it has left her capital peculiarly exposed to foreign invasion.

In a recent article\* "On the Present Condition of Norway," Mr. Gosse says, "Christiania is destined to become the foremost city of Scandinavia. It possesses advantages that Stockholm has lost. When that city rose into influence it lay in the gulf of Bothnia, with its provinces before and behind it. But the seizure of Finland has left Stockholm at the mercy of a Russian fleet."

Crippled as Sweden was in the reign of Charles XIII., yet she was enabled to throw her weight into the scale at a very critical moment in the affairs of Europe.

Sweden had joined the coalition against Napoleon, and Marshal Bernadotte, who found himself in the opposition ranks to his former leader, has, by some, been accused of ingratitude; but considering that he had been elected Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810, his duty was clearly to his adopted country. He it was who led 60,000 men to the aid of Blucher on the eve of Leipsic, thereby greatly contributing to the success of the allies, and the subsequent emancipation of Germany.

This led to important results in Scandinavia. Denmark was obliged to concede to the Crown Prince, in the treaty of Kiel, 1814, all that she had hitherto refused. Sweden thereby received Norway as an independent free kingdom, in return for her possessions in Pomerania and for the island of Rügen. The Norwegians elected Charles XIII. as their king, and henceforth Norway and Sweden have been under one crown.

Notwithstanding the martial character of its founder, the dynasty of Bernadotte has happily given to Sweden half a century of peace, and in consequence her resources have been largely developed, and her material prosperity has steadily advanced. The country was formerly necessitated to import considerable quantities of corn and cattle;

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\* *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1874.

but so much has the system of agriculture improved, that both these articles now form important items in the yearly list of exports. Old chronicles record that in the thirteenth century Sweden exported corn and cattle to England, Holland, and other countries; but the vicissitudes of war had so decimated the population, that they were inadequate to the culture of the soil, and from 1650 till 1819 had to import annually great quantities of corn.

Out of the 3,000,000 people who are devoted to agriculture, about 250,000 are owners of the land they cultivate. This division of property has given rise to numerous credit associations of landholders to supply the loan of capital to small proprietors. The general credit bank for landholders, founded in 1861, and to which the Government has furnished a relief in money amounting to eight millions Rds., was created with the view of negotiating the loans requisite to the operations of the above-named associations. The annual production of all sorts of corn is 100,000,000 of cubic feet: chiefly rye, barley, and oats, the wheat crops not exceeding 4 per cent. of the whole. Potatoes, beans, flax, hemp, hops, tobacco, rape, beetroot, &c., are cultivated to a limited extent.

The farms are generally small throughout Sweden; the average of arable land is about 28 acres to each holding. As the farmhouses and buildings are almost invariably of timber, they are very picturesque. The isolated position of these homesteads has made the people very skilful and independent. The farmer is often such a good mechanic that his house, mill, agricultural implements, and furniture, even including the primitive clock, is his own handiwork. In Dalecarlia the peasants rival the inhabitants of the Black Forest with their clock-making; in summer they migrate to Stockholm to sell their wares, which are sent all over the country. In the north the hay-fields have a curious appearance, for the mown hay, instead of being gathered into hay-cocks, is thrown across a sort of clothes-horse, where it is left to dry. Another thing that appears curious to the stranger is that up in the northern parts of Sweden every building, including the church, has two or more high ladders permanently attached to the roof; one on one side, one on the other. This is a custom legally enforced, for the greater facility of reaching the roof to extinguish fires. Disastrous fires are very frequent in these wooden villages. The town of Gefle—the most

important port in the Gulf of Bothnia—was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1869.

The breed of domestic cattle has been greatly improved in Sweden of late years, but this is owing to the enlightened conduct of the Government, for the Swedish peasant has an inveterate aversion to novelties. Upwards of 500 horses are bred annually in the studs belonging to Government, and there are fourteen model dairy farms under the same auspices.

A few years will probably make enormous changes in Sweden. Vast tracts of country are being opened up by railway and steamboat, and brought into direct communication with the ports of the Baltic and the North Sea.

There is a proverb which was supposed to have been prevalent in very early times in Asia, which says, "He who would grow rich must go to the North." Many English, and especially several Scotchmen, seem likely to realise the truth of this saying, for the indomitable Briton may be found in all parts of the country, as managers of the great saw mills, iron factories, and other works. In a recent number of the journal called *Iron*, this fact is mentioned, and in speaking of Swedish tar, the writer says:—

"At the present time England is indebted to Sweden for many useful products which we cannot well do without. As the demand in this country has increase of late years for the articles in which Sweden, with its vast natural wealth, abounds, so the commerce of that nation has most materially expanded, and has indeed experienced a development which is alike a source of satisfaction and astonishment. One of the foremost products of Sweden which has given rise to a considerable trade in this country is tar. Comparatively speaking, this is quite a new branch of business—that is to say, it has only been carried to its present magnitude and extent during the past few years. The imports of tar into Hull and London from Stockholm and Gothenburg now amount to very large totals, the Stockholm tar, according to general opinion, being of the very best quality that can be procured."

In fact it realises four shillings a barrel more than any other. The vast forests of fir and pine, unequalled by any other country, offer an incomparable opportunity for the supply of the product.

Hitherto they have had a most careless way of felling timber; they saw off the tree at about four feet from the ground, utterly regardless of the waste of two or three feet

of excellent timber. You may drive for miles through woods that have been treated in this way; but Government has begun to exercise a wise control in all matters referring to the management of the woods.

The forests of Sweden cover four-sevenths of the whole surface of the country. The fir and pine are the prevailing trees, but the birch is also largely present, forming a most beautiful variety, with its bright green leaves and silvery bark, to the masses of dark "needle wood" which fringe the lakes and cover the hill-sides. The birch is a most useful tree, not only for building purposes and for furniture, but the outer bark, which is easily stripped off in spring, is used for thatching houses, making baskets, and even soling shoes.

At the Scandinavian Exhibition in 1872, which took place at Copenhagen, we saw several specimens of the portable timber houses, which, it seems, are likely to be largely imported into England, now that the cost of building has so much increased with us. We understand that several gentlemen in Devonshire have tried these wooden structures, and have found them answer extremely well, both as regards comfort and economy. It is a well-known fact that timber houses are warmer in winter and cooler in summer than any other kind of dwelling. Possibly the time will come when houses are no longer the inevitable fixtures they are at present, but will be set up on the Welsh sands or Devonshire moors for the autumn, or even erected for a year or two in the neighbourhood of good schools, to suit the temporary requirements of the owner and his family.

Norway and Sweden send us ready-made window frames, doors, and joists; and the trade, which is largely increasing, is to our mutual advantage, for the labour-market is still much cheaper than with us. Great manufactories of lucifer matches have been established, especially at Jonkoping, where the refuse of the timber working is utilised for the matches and match-boxes. This industry, together with a large paper manufactory on the lake Munks, has so increased the town of Jonkoping of late years, that its sudden growth is almost parallel to some of the American towns that we hear of in the "far West."

It is hardly possible, without a personal knowledge of Sweden, to realise the "opening up" of the country which has resulted from the improvements in modern locomotion.

At present there is not much more than a thousand miles of railway completed; but the water communication is the great feature of Swedish travelling. Two-thirds of the mileage of railroad is under Government, the rest is in the hands of private companies. There has been some difficulty about the payment of dividends on the long lines, which have had great engineering expenses; but some of the short lines pay very well; the one between the port of Gefle and the mining town of Falun, in Dalecarlia, pays 18 per cent. to the original shareholders.

There are in Sweden no less than two hundred passenger steamers, which navigate the Baltic, or keep up the internal communication between different parts of the country.

The canalisation of the rivers has been carried out with singular boldness and ingenuity. The traveller may be fairly surprised to find that the plucky little steamer, in which he has taken his berth for a day and a night, is undaunted by up-hill or down-hill, and surmounts all difficulties of level by means of a series of locks.

We made our first experience of this system of travelling on our return journey from Dalecarlia. From Gustav, on the lake Runn, we had driven some eight hours across a wild but beautiful country. For the most part it was little more than a tract through forests, skirting innumerable lakes, and passing through a luxuriant wilderness of exquisite wild flowers, whose sweet scent made the air perfectly delicious. It was a drive never to be forgotten, affording such a variety of charming scenery and such quaint experiences of travel. At the post-houses (the only dwellings we saw) we had to wait for the horses to be caught, but they were law-respecting animals, and in all their actions showed a sense of the newly-enacted regulations which facilitate travelling in the remotest parts of Sweden. One of our companions had the honour and glory of driving himself and the luggage in a cariole; but part of the way the writer and another friend were in a sort of dilapidated drosky, and a pair of horses that had for driver a diminutive boy, apparently about six or seven years old; he climbed with some difficulty into his seat. His presence was, we imagine, rather a compliment to the travellers than a necessity to the horses, for they went their way with remarkable sagacity, and on arriving at Smedjebacken the vehicles returned home with their one driver, the second horse and carriage following behind.



We slept at Smedjebacken, a neat little town, which has its local railway, its furnaces, and fabrics, an oasis of civilisation in the wilds. This place has been brought within twenty-four hours of direct steam communication with Stockholm, by means of the canalisation of the river Kolbäck. Six steamers are employed in this traffic. The *cuisine* on board these passenger boats is excellent. The traveller must be very difficult to please who cannot enjoy slices of cold boiled bear, reindeer tongue, dried salmon with eggs, besides delicious wild strawberries and cream for dessert, and Svenska punch at discretion, or indiscretion, if he does not know its strength. He can be regaled with these, and many other delicacies, on deck, while gliding past all the diverse combinations of wood and water which make up the picture.

At one time you are in a wide expanse of lake, whose receding shores stretch away under the shadows of the Dalecarlian mountains, or you find yourself in a channel so narrow that the trees, on either side, meet overhead, and form a continuous archway of greenery. It was, in passing through an avenue of foliage like this, that we suddenly found ourselves on the verge of what appeared a precipice, or abrupt hill-side. Below us, like a map, were the woods and fields, with scattered homesteads, and far away the silvery line of the canal threading its course through the green meadows. That our steamer should go bodily down this declivity to the nether world, seemed unlike the "habits of the animal," but it was very soon an accomplished fact.

A succession of gigantic steps, or, more strictly speaking, of nine locks, let us down into the plain. At the bottom of this Titanic staircase, the canal turns abruptly at right angles, which adds to the peculiarity of construction. More than an hour is occupied in the descent, and after the novice has made the experience of one lock, he generally goes on shore. These interludes, which occur several times during the day, are a very agreeable change in the monotony of travelling. On this occasion it gave us an opportunity of visiting a fine waterfall, where, in natural course, the river tumbles over the precipice with a bound of noisy, gleeful liberty, its white sheets of foam breaking into a cloud of feathery spray. This wild play of waters, embanked by the luxuriant vegetation and undergrowth of the old forest trees, whose gnarled roots cling round the

grey moss-covered stones, is in curious contrast to the sister stream, which is forced through straight banks and granite buttresses, and whose pent-up waters await the opening of the sluice doors at the engineer's bidding.

The most remarkable canal in Sweden is the far-famed Trollhättan, which attracts the attention of all tourists in that country. Many persons go to Stockholm *via* Gothenburg and the Trollhättan canal; our advice, however, would be to make the approach to Stockholm by the Baltic, and to do the return journey to England *via* Gothenburg and Hull. As early as the seventeenth century it was felt that a water communication between the Baltic and the North Sea was of the utmost political importance; for the Danes have always had the key of the Baltic, and can command the entrance in case of hostilities.

The great engineering difficulty which presented itself was the difference of the level of the Gotha river at the Trollhättan falls. After many abortive efforts, in which the names of Gustav I., Charles IX., and Charles XII. were associated, we come to the end of the eighteenth century, when surveys were taken of the country between Lake Wessern and the Baltic, by Thunberg, and later a company undertook the construction of the Trollhättan canal, after the plan of the engineer, Eric Nordevall. A channel for the water was made by blasting the solid rock for a distance of three English miles. This part of the undertaking was opened in 1800. It was not, however, till 1832 that the two seas were completely connected. There is now a continuous water-way from the Baltic to the North Sea, consisting of seven portions of canals, which link together the great lake system of central Sweden. The entire distance is 370 English miles, but the canals only comprise 50 miles, the rest being natural water-ways.

At Trollhättan there are nine locks, giving a descent of 120 feet; the highest point of elevation obtained by the canal is 308 feet above the level of the sea. The construction of Nordevall was soon found inadequate for the traffic, and the history of the Gotha canal, as it now exists, dates from the beginning of the present century.

In 1808 Baron von Platen, who was at the head of the undertaking, called in the aid of Telford, the well-known English engineer, and they marked out almost the same line that had originally been suggested by Thunberg. In 1822 the West Gotha canal was opened; but the complete

line of communication was not finished for ten years, not, indeed, till the distinguished head of the undertaking had been laid in his grave. The last resting-place of Admiral Von Platen is near Motala, on the south bank of the canal, and is always pointed out to the traveller who makes a first acquaintance with this beautiful locality. The town of Motala is a place of rising importance, in consequence of the iron foundries and manufactories established here. An Englishman of the name of Fraser first established works here, in connection with the making of the great canal. It has now become the Birmingham of Sweden, and the Government are using strenuous efforts to rival the superior cutlery of England by pecuniary aids to the home manufacture, and by specially assisting the education of artisans.

If Sweden comes to us now for technical teaching in certain arts and manufactures, we were formerly indebted to her for the lead she took in her School of Mines, where foreigners sought the best instruction in metallurgy and mineralogy. The people generally are well cared for in respect to primary education. Though education is not compulsory, yet it is regarded as a *conditio sine qua non*, and you would rarely meet with any one who was ignorant of reading and writing. There are upwards of five thousand primary schools, which is in good proportion to the population. Some of these schools are ambulatory, to meet the requirements of the sparse population in the more northerly parts of the country.

Sweden has two universities—Upsala and Lund. Both places date from a remote Pagan antiquity, and are full of interest to the archæologist. The existing universities were founded in the fifteenth century. Lund has an interesting library, and contains, amongst other curiosities, the oldest original Danish record existing. The historical museum is remarkable for its collection of Swedish antiquities. The modern town of the sister university is distant three miles from Old Upsala, or "The Lofty Halls," where the worship of Odin so long held sway. Three remarkable tumuli, sixty feet in height, lie near the ancient granite church (itself supposed to contain a portion of the pagan temple)—in fact, the whole ground teems with lesser tumuli, which excavations have proved to be burying places. Living is very cheap at Upsala, and the place is remarkably healthy. There are about 1,200 students,

very few of whom are foreigners ; for though the educational advantages are great, the language is a serious drawback to any other nationality. In Sweden, University degrees are obligatory to all who enter the clerical, medical, or legal professions.

A free academy has recently been founded in Stockholm, but the institutions for technical education have long been an example to other countries. The Academy of Sciences combines geological and mineralogical collections, which are said to be the richest in the world. In connection with this institution is the Observatory, and an excellent library of 35,000 volumes. There is, besides, the Technological Institute and the chemical laboratory at the Carolin Institute, for practical teaching. Several other Swedish towns, besides the capital, have schools for forestry and agriculture, and, notably at Gothenburg, Chalmers' School of Art and Industry.

The hospitals and other charitable institutions are amongst the finest and most conspicuous public buildings in Stockholm and its suburbs. There is an extremely well-arranged Deaconesses' Institution, where the pupils can return when out of a situation, and, indeed, are provided for for life. It is supported by voluntary contributions, and the following anecdote is told of Jenny Lind in connection with the place. "How is the charity supported?" asked the great singer, when going over the institution. "By voluntary contributions." "And what is the state of its funds now?" "Very low," was the reply, "for we have to pay two thousand dollars" (about £100) "in a fortnight, and we have not the money." "You shall have it from me to-morrow," replied Jenny Lind.

Before enlarging upon the many points of interest and novelty that strike the traveller on his first visit to the Swedish capital, we would say something of the journey thither from England. Every stranger should approach Stockholm from the Baltic, if he desires to view rightly the "Venice of the North."

The best way of reaching Sweden, judging from personal experience, and assuming that the tourist is not pressed for time, is certainly *via* Hamburg and Lubeck. We left London one of the early days of July, by the steamer which goes direct to Hamburg. The average voyage is forty hours, but we had a favourable run, and accomplished it in thirty-six hours. If you intend staying six weeks or two

months in the north, it is well not to be later than the early part of July. Hamburg to Lubeck is a short railway journey of two or three hours, and a stay of one day, at least, may be profitably made at the quaint old Hanse town, whose mediæval aspect is, perhaps, better preserved than that of any other place in Europe.

At Lubeck you take steamer for Stockholm, arriving there, if all is well, in forty-eight hours. The arrangements on board these Swedish boats are extremely comfortable. The deck is provided with an awning and plenty of seats, growing creepers and flowering plants ornament the saloon, and cleanliness of the most perfect kind pervades the whole, so that the voyage, if you have good weather, is really a pleasure trip. We found the Baltic a perfect summer sea; the weather was glorious. The sun set in great splendour; and long after the more brilliant lines of colouring had passed away, we stayed on deck to enjoy the beauty of the lingering twilight. At Calmar, the only place where the vessel stops *en route*, we had our first sight of Sweden. The Castle, and the old portions of the fortified town around it, are picturesque objects, and remain as fitting memorials of the troubles they have passed through. No less than eleven times has the "key of Sweden" been besieged by jealous neighbours.

It was Sunday night when our steamer touched the pier. All the town seemed to have turned out to look at us. The women were well-dressed in bright colours, but at the same time were remarkably neat and trim in appearance. They nearly all wore handkerchiefs on their heads: those who wore black headgear were domestic servants; this distinctive badge is compulsory nearly everywhere in Sweden. Every girl carried a big bouquet, and their faces were mostly pretty enough to match with the fresh flowers. There seemed almost as many dogs as men—high class dogs, of the deerhound type, who busied themselves very much with all that was going on. It was a pleasant, merry crowd; they cheered us heartily when we left. Sweden is a country for kindly greetings, as we observed later. If friends meet each other in the street, they bow three times, and after a hearty hand-shake, tap each on the shoulder with peculiar friendliness. When your steamer passes a group of people, whether on lawn or wharf, you are sure to have a cheer as token of "God

speed." These primitive people have not yet had their souls vexed by a ceaseless invasion of tourists.

There is a great peculiarity about the coast scenery of Sweden ; it is not deeply indented with fiords, like Norway, but it has a fringe of rocky islets, extending from the Sound of Calmar to the far end of the Gulf of Bothnia. These islets are so numerous that no map can represent them. It is a common saying that the country has two coasts, an inner and an outer one, and when storms lash the Baltic into foam, the waters within the rocky fringe are smooth. It is perfectly marvellous how vessels make their way through this labyrinth ; there are special pilots, and if a fog comes on, there is nothing to be done but to wait ; progress would simply be impossible. This rocky fringe is called *skärgård*, or reef defence, and there are light boats, built specially for navigating this singular maze of islands. For a considerable distance the scene is desolate enough ; the rocks are utterly barren, and the only sign of life is a lonely pilot's house, built on one of the larger islets, solitary, treeless, and forlorn, except for the sea-birds who whirl round in their airy circles.

As the steamer approaches within about five hours of its destination, the aspect of barren desolation changes like magic, and you enter a perfect fairyland of beauty. The islets are clothed with vegetation ; they are mostly large and very varied in form ; large enough for groups of trees and green meadows. Miniature fiords and bays intersect these floating groves, and produce the most fantastic combinations of wood and water. Added to this, the grey rocks are sometimes piled up in such a manner that they resemble ruined castles and obliterated forts. The channels through which we passed were occasionally so narrow, that one seemed almost able to touch land on either side. The weeping birch grows in profusion here, and its graceful branches hang as a canopy over a profusion of sweet-scented wild flowers.

Approaching still nearer to the capital, signs of human occupation become more frequent. Pretty wooden cottages and villas are dotted about upon the larger islands. Terraced gardens and well-kept lawns, bordered with bright flowers, are seen at every turn in the tortuous windings which the steamer makes amongst the islands. On market days it is very picturesque to see the boats, laden with fruit, vegetables, and other necessities of life, rowing in a



sort of procession among the islands. Each house sends out its boat to the ambulatory market, and the waters are soon alive with eager buyers and sellers. Before passing under the sentinel forts of Stockholm, you have a view of Djurgården, or Deer Park, the most picturesque park possessed by any European capital.

It is dreadful treason, of course, to the Queen of the Adriatic, the adored mistress of poets and painters, to say that her northern rival is the fairer of the two, but there are people who hold this opinion, and the writer is one of them. Venice is a city of *souvenirs*—the world regards her through an historic vista—whereas Stockholm is seen by “the light of common day;” and though not boasting the ornate architecture of the Italian city, yet she possesses many picturesque advantages peculiarly her own. The Royal Palace is a vast erection, built on the highest of the three islands of Stockholm; it was completed in 1753, from the designs of Count Tessin. It appeared to us too angular and barrack-like, but it has the warm approval of most professional critics. The National Museum is a handsome building, and contains some interesting collections. On the exterior are marble statues of some of Sweden’s worthies, namely, Tessin, Sergel, Linnæus, Wallin, and Berzelius. The gem of the art collection is the statue of the “Sleeping Endymion,” a specimen of the finest period of Greek art; it was found in 1750, in the ruins of Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli. The Swedish sculptors, Byström, Fogelberg, and Sergel, are well represented; but some of Byström’s best works are to be seen in the church of St. Nicholas, one of the oldest in Stockholm. The most interesting, however, of the churches, is the Kiddarholms, the burying-place of their kings. The sarcophagus of Gustavus Adolphus bears the simple and appropriate inscription: “*Moriens triumphavit.*” As the church is now only regarded as a royal mausoleum, there are no regular services. The Romish ceremonial has been a good deal preserved in the Swedish ritual, such as the embroidered vestments of the clergy, the decorations of the churches, and the use of the wafer at the Lord’s Supper. They retain the name of High Mass for the principal service of the Sabbath or Holy Day.

Religious liberty was no accompaniment of the Reformation in Sweden. In consequence of a reactionary movement towards Popery, a law was passed in 1600, imposing



confiscation of goods and banishment on every Swede who renounced the Lutheran doctrines. This unjust law has since been applied with great severity to Protestant separatists. In 1713 and in 1726 conventicle laws were passed which made it a crime to hold a private religious meeting. Even in this century, as late as the decade of 1840 to 1850, something like eleven hundred persons were subjected to fine and imprisonment, solely for the exercise of private judgment in religious worship. In 1856, King Oscar opened the Diet with the following appeal to the common-sense of the law-makers. He said, "Toleration founded on individual immovable conviction and respect for the religious faith of others, belongs to the essence of the Protestant Church, and ought to obtain among a people whose heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, by brilliant victories and by the sacrifice of his life, laid the foundation for freedom of thought throughout Central Europe. Those laws, therefore, which hinder religious liberty and freedom of worship ought to be abolished." A Bill for the furtherance of reform in religious matters was placed before the Diet, but public opinion was not ripe for the change, and the question fell to the ground. It was not till 1870, and then in opposition to many of the clergy, that unrestrained religious liberty was proclaimed!

To return to our description of the outward aspect of Stockholm. Moralists have said that it is a pleasure-loving city; be that as it may, outward decorum and propriety are most strictly observed. Immense good has been done by the laws recently enacted for the repression of drunkenness—a vice which had terrible sway formerly in Sweden. The sale of tea, coffee, and other harmless drinks is systematically encouraged, while the sale of intoxicating liquors is subject to the strictest supervision. We believe it has been the most successful instance known of a paternal government making people sober by Act of Parliament.

In summer Stockholm is full of bustle and gaiety. The port is alive with ships; trading vessels from all parts of the world, and generally one or two English yachts, with their smart fittings glistening in the sun. In the evening all the world goes to drink coffee and eat ices at a charming little *café* called the Strömparterre. It is quite in the centre of the town, below Norrbrö. There is a plantation of trees, and a garden bright with flowers close to the water's edge. From this spot the steamboat omnibuses

depart and arrive from the suburbs. These fidgety little vessels are a great feature in Stockholm; they are very unlike the hearse-like gondolas of Venice, for they are all noise, life, and animation. In five minutes, and for as many oere (farthings), you are transported to Hasselbacken, in the Deer Park, an excellent garden *restaurant*, where it is the fashion to have supper some time between 8 and 10 o'clock, listening to the strains of an excellent band, and enjoying the exquisite twilight, in the still, soft air, with the thermometer only a degree or two below seventy. Nowhere is the summer so enjoyable as in the north. It is true the heat is intense during the day, but the long light of the evenings gives you such opportunities for enjoying the out-of-door existence, which is the order of the day here.

The Swedes are certainly very fond of animals; dogs, cats, and birds frequent the open air *restaurants* as if they paid their reckoning like anyone else. The birds are not abashed by the dogs; there is a sort of happy family feeling amongst them. The sparrows assemble in flocks to pick up the crumbs; their audacity is amazing. On one occasion we were reading a newspaper, and had pushed our plate slightly away from us; on looking round the paper, which had been held up before our face, we found three sparrows, sitting like Pliny's doves, on the edge of the plate, helping themselves to the *débris* of the luncheon. So far from "their tameness being shocking to me," we should rejoice to see the "small birds" on these friendly terms with us in England. The Swedes are remarkably fond of all the feathered tribe. At Christmas it is customary for each house in the country to have a high pole raised above the roof, with a sheaf of unthrashed grain for the sparrows and small birds, that "all creatures may rejoice at that holy season." Coleridge's lines naturally occur to one—

"He prayeth well who loveth well  
Both man, and bird, and beast;  
He prayeth best who loveth best  
All things both great and small."

The Swedish *savants* are very courteous to strangers, as we found by experience, and one or two letters of introduction will serve to pass you on from Stockholm to Upsala, or elsewhere. One of our party intended crossing from

the Gulf of Bothnia to Trondhjem in Norway, and as it is rather an unaccustomed route for tourists, he wanted more particulars than the guide-books afforded, but some of the learned professors at the Academy of Science gave us all the assistance we required, and were most kind in lending geological and other maps. The distance from Sundsvall to Trondhjem is 350 English miles; about midway you come upon Lake Storjön, famous for its magnificent scenery. Here lakes, rivers, and cataracts are intermingled with belts of dark forest, green meadows, and pleasant villages, and in the background rises the isolated mountain of Areskutan with its mantle of eternal snow. In the immediate neighbourhood some extensive copper mines have recently been opened. Not far, we understand, from here is Tännforsen, the finest cataract in Sweden. A river forty feet in breadth falls perpendicularly a distance of ninety feet between black masses of broken rocks, after which the waters are gathered into the tranquil lake of Tänn.

The naturalist and the sportsman will both find plenty to interest and occupy them in these northern parts of Sweden. Mr. Lloyd, an English gentleman, who has lived in the country for many years, has written upon the *Field Sports of the North*, and other books of "Scandinavian adventure," which are invaluable to anyone who intends to fish the rivers, shoot the capercali, or hunt the larger game, such as wolves and bears.

The wild beasts are called the *lands plaga*, literally land plague; and to give an idea of the destruction caused by them, it may be mentioned that in the year 1827 the returns showed the destruction of cattle by wild beasts to be a loss of £15,000 of our money. Since then the Government have inaugurated great hunting matches, consisting of from five to six hundred people. These skulls, or hunts, are generally announced after Divine service, and they assemble to the sound of drums and bugles, which serve to animate the hunters. Though wolves are numerous, they do not often molest human beings; though some years ago, in the vicinity of Gefle, one voracious beast was said to have killed twenty men and wounded many more before he was himself destroyed. "Bears will sometimes spring upon a horse," says Mr. Lloyd, "and the steed may be seen with his strange rider careering the forest." The Swedish fox has the reputation of great cunning: he avoids

depredations in the neighbourhood of his breeding place, and goes to a distant parish for his supply of ducks and fowls: moreover, he is up to all sorts of funny tricks, such as drawing out a fishing net and catching the fish out of the toils of the meshes.

The lakes and rivers of Sweden swarm with aquatic birds—the mallard, teal, gull, tern, the golden plover, &c. The capercali takes the first place amongst Scandinavian game birds. To be a successful sportsman you require to know the habits of these birds, as they are very difficult to approach. The capercali has sometimes been known to attack people, and the belief is, amongst the common folk, that the bird is *possessed*. In the wooded parts of Sweden they are pretty common. In the winter they roost in the snow, burrowing horizontally.

Fishing is very good in Sweden, particularly in the north. Luleå is a favourite place with anglers; the fishing is perfectly free; and, besides salmon, there are plenty of trout and grayling of 8 to 9 lbs. weight. The Wenern and Wettern lakes afford good fishing, so do the Dalecarlian rivers. In the northern parts there are few preserves, and sport is free, except the necessary restrictions as to time. In Murray's *Handbook of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden*, it is mentioned that at Quickjock, near Luleå, "one hundred ptarmigan, besides willow grouse and hares, have been known to fall to a single gun."

There are, during the summer and autumn, well-appointed steamers that go from Stockholm to Haparanda, at the upper end of the Gulf of Bothnia. The time occupied in going is about six days, but it is not so much a voyage as a pleasant cruise, always amongst islets and fiords. Besides the novelty of life, and the wild grandeur of the scenery in these high latitudes, the special object of the tourists is to see the midnight sun, which can be accomplished by going to Ava Saxa, just within the Arctic circle. "The inn has good accommodation," says Murray; "the place can be reached in one day from Haparanda, and the road runs through beautiful scenery."

The writer had not time for this expedition to the far north. We went by the Haparanda steamer as far as Gefle, with the object of going thence to Falun, and making a tour in Dalecarlia. A voyage of fifteen hours from Stockholm landed us at Gefle, a busy ship-building town of nearly 12,000 inhabitants. We saw a small fleet of English

ships lading timber—in fact the harbour was the scene of extraordinary activity; the town itself was in course of rebuilding, after a recent conflagration.

Other interests, however, besides those of trade and commerce come to mind here. At Löffsgrund, near Gefle, is the celebrated stone which has been marked by geologists for the purpose of recording that remarkable alteration of level which is taking place in the northern part of Scandinavia. At the beginning of the last century, Celsius gave it as his opinion that the waters of the Baltic and the Northern Ocean were subsiding; he reasoned from the fact that towns formerly sea-ports were then far inland. Linnæus adopted the same opinion; but as these views are inconsistent with the laws of equilibrium, they came to be regarded with discredit. In the early part of this century the question was tested by grooves being chiselled in the rocks and marked with the date of the year. Playfair was the first to suggest the true solution of the phenomenon, attributing it to an upward movement of the land. Leopold Von Buck confirmed this opinion by close personal observation. "He also conceived that Sweden may rise more in the northern than in the southern part." Later observers have come to the same conclusion. In 1821 the old rock marks were carefully examined by Swedish geologists. Sir Charles Lyell, who had formerly been sceptical, visited the Gulf of Bothnia in 1834, and convinced himself of the truth of the phenomenon. He marked the stone at Löffsgrund two feet seven inches below the mark of 1731; and Mr. Robert Chambers, visiting the same spot in 1849, found the level again seven inches lower. The elevation of the land could therefore be calculated at upwards of three feet in 118 years. In the southernmost extremity of Sweden an opposite movement is apparent, and there is evidence of a gradual subsidence of the land. Linnæus measured and marked a stone at Trelleborg in Scania, and eighty-seven years afterwards it was found to be a hundred feet nearer the water line.

Ancient geographers averred that Scandinavia was an island, and the raised beaches which are found far inland prove the *extension* of the sea, but Sir Charles Lyell considers that the Baltic was separated then as now from the Northern Ocean, because the Baltic fossils are distinguishable from the oceanic deposits (and these deposits belong to the former), showing that the waters had not com-

mingled. Enormous changes have undoubtedly taken place in these regions.

Mr. James Geikie, in his recently published work on *The Great Ice Age*, says:—

“In Scandinavia generally the evidence in favour of arctic conditions having formerly prevailed is overwhelming. . . . The Gulf of Bothnia appears to have been brimmed with ice, which pressed up against, and even in some places overflowed the lofty Norwegian frontier, through the valleys of which it found its way into the North Sea. . . . How far south the Scandinavian ice-sheet extended we cannot tell. We know that it not only filled the Gulf of Bothnia, but occupied the whole area of the Baltic Sea, overflowing the Aland Isles, Gothland, Bornholm, and Denmark. . . . This ice-sheet strewed the plains of Denmark, Holland, and North Germany with fragments of rock broken from the mountains of Norway and Sweden.”—Pp. 375, 381.

It is supposed that great alterations of climate have occurred in Scandinavia; the Swedish geologists, Nathorsk, Törnebohm, and Helmström all concur in believing that there is distinct evidence of an interglacial period. There is great activity at present amongst the scientific men of Sweden, and good work is being done. Linnæus was the founder and first president of the Academy of Stockholm, and amongst the names of European reputation who are connected with this institution, and who are now living, we may mention Lovén the zoologist. He beat Darwin in the last election of a corresponding member for the Institute of France in the zoological section. There are also Andersson, the botanist, and Nordenskiöld, Kjerulf and Otto Torell, geologists. At the University of Lund, they have Nilson, the celebrated archæologist and geologist. At Upsala, Lillejeborg, the zoologist, is the worthy successor to the chair of Linnæus. By the way, the Swedes are rather surprised at us for calling their great naturalist by the Latinised form of his name. His name was Linné, and after he was ennobled he used the signature of Von Linné, and all his later and greatest works bear this designation on the title-page. Moreover, the name of our Linnean Society does *not* follow the Latinised form.

Even the friendship and protection of so great a man as Celsius, the founder of natural history in Sweden, did not preserve Linnæus from encountering bitter jealousies at Upsala, in the early part of his career. He retired to Falun for awhile, and practised there as a physician.



More than once the Swedish Court has sought refuge in Falun, but for quite other reasons. This curious town, on the side of the great copper mountain, is always more or less enveloped in the fumes arising from the smelting works. Though these fumes are destructive to vegetation, they are an excellent preservative against pestilence, cholera, and other epidemics. It was, therefore, to escape the pestilence at Stockholm that the Court sought safety in this place.

While on the subject of disinfectants, it is interesting to remark that in all the marshy districts of Sweden, nature has abundantly supplied an antidote to malaria, for the ground teems with peculiarly odorous flowers and herbs. The common people, who are generally nature's pupils, have learnt this lesson, and it is a fact that they employ sweet-smelling herbs as disinfectants to a greater extent in Sweden than in any other country. The church floor, for instance, is freshly strewn on Sunday morning with chopped fragments of the aromatic fir, which dissipates that peculiar mortuary smell often attached to old churches. Birthdays and other domestic fêtes are celebrated by strewing the fir on the pathway leading to the house. This very likely is a relic of some Pagan custom. Housewives employ the branches of a very powerfully scented herb (the botanical name of which, unfortunately, we do not know) for keeping the back parts of the dwelling sweet and fresh; and it is wonderfully efficacious under circumstances of most primitive arrangements. The markets are full of all kinds of sweet-smelling herbs and flowers. The country people bring them in, either growing in pots, or, the larger sort, in great bundles, to be hung up about the house.

In a recent number\* of the *British Medical Journal* there is an interesting article on "Flowers and Fevers." The writer refers specially to the observations of Professor Mantegazza on the action of essences and flowers in the production of ozone. It is proved that there is great hygienic utility in the cultivation of sweet-smelling flowers, from the fact of their developing such large quantities of ozone, which acts as a corrective to injurious emanations of decaying matter. The very general use that is made in Sweden of these natural disinfectants may be a useful

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\* March 29, 1873.



lesson to ourselves. "It is satisfactory to find, by the light of science, that our predilection for the beautiful, whether in colour, taste, or odour, has its origin in a true and natural instinct."

There is a romantic story told in connection with the old mines of Falun that we can hardly omit. In 1719 the body of a miner was found in a disused shaft; the body was singularly well preserved, and it looked as if life had but lately departed, though other evidence proved that it had long lain there. When the poor fellow was brought to the bank, no one knew him amongst all the crowd who gathered round, until a very aged woman caught sight of the well-defined features, and recognised her long lost lover, one Matthias Israelson, who had been lost in the mines as long ago as 1670. It is said that the poor old woman threw her arms round the youthful body of her lover and expired, overcome by the excess of her emotions. Some one has written a poem on this touching episode; it would be a fitting subject for the pencil of an artist, especially one who knew the place, with its strange weird surroundings. The mine is at the bottom of an enormous crater-like opening, the result of centuries of toil; and, looking down from above, the miners at their work look like pigmies, though, in truth, there are not such stalwart men in all Sweden as the Falunites, and there is a saying, "woe betide the person who attempts to naggle with them."

There is historical evidence of the working of these mines for upwards of six hundred years. They were worked in the time of Birger Jarl, by the Lubeckers, and there is every reason to believe that they were known many centuries earlier. For a long time the mines produced upwards of 3,000 tons of copper annually. It was called "The treasury of Sweden;" but the yield has greatly diminished of late years. The whole of Sweden now only produces 2,000 tons, and a great deal of this comes from Atvidaberg. The Swedish ore is very poor, only yielding 4 per cent., and even less, but the copper is much esteemed, on account of the absence of arsenic and antimony.

The lead mines of Sweden are at Sala and Kongsberg, but are not of great value. The iron is the most important mineral product of the country. In the introduction to the French edition of Dr. Percy's great work on "Metallurgy," MM. Petitgand and Ronna observe (page 152):—

"La Suède est le pays classique de l'industrie du fer, non par

l'excès de sa production, mais par sa qualité supérieure. Les procédés introduits dès 1643, par Louis de Geer, à l'aide des ouvriers qu'il avait fait venir du pays wallon, ont assuré aux fers suédois la réputation méritée dont ils ont continué à jouir jusqu'à nos jours."

The most celebrated iron mines are Dannemora, Taberg, Nora, and Phillipstadt. These latter places are all in the province of Wermland, the most beautiful part of Sweden. This district is very agreeable for travelling, on account of the excellence of the steamboats and the modern hotels. The Dannemora mines, well worth a visit, are accessible from Upsala, and may be taken *en route* to or from Dalecarlia; only here the tourist must be prepared for some rough travelling. These mines furnish annually 12,000 to 15,000 tons of mineral, yielding 30 to 70 per cent. of iron. To give an idea of the export of Swedish iron to Great Britain alone, we may mention that in 1860 pig-iron, to the amount of 6,131 tons, and bar iron, to the important figure of 49,556 tons, was bought by us. Probably the later returns would be still more considerable.

Sweden owes a great deal to Swedenborg for initiating great improvements in the reduction of iron ores. Many of his plans have been superseded by modern inventions, but before he became a religious mystic he was the best practical chemist of his time. He held for many years the appointment of Assessor to the College of Mines. His principal work on science was the *Regnum Minerale*, printed at Leipsic in 1734.

Two Swedish chemists, Swab and Gahn, were the first to obtain metallic antimony and metallic manganese, substances much used now in manufactures. We understand that a work has just been published at Stockholm, under Government auspices, entitled *The Resources of Sweden*. We should imagine it would supply useful information for special inquirers.

Notwithstanding the development of the natural resources of the country, and the extension of commerce, there has been a great increase of emigration of late years. In *Harper's Magazine*,\* an American publication, there occurs the following remarks in reference to Swedish settlers:—

"The Swedes form excellent and most desirable citizens in the United States, but on first arriving they are suspecting and doubt-

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\* March, 1871.

ing ; they give a great deal of trouble, for they dislike being questioned, and even refuse any information in reply. They generally go to Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota, where they find a climate not unlike their own, and soon become settled down as thrifty farmers. In 1869 upwards of 23,000 Swedish immigrants arrived in the United States, and of these it is safe to say that ninety per cent. go out West as agriculturists."

The same Lubeckers who are said to have worked the mines of Falun were remarkable for their church architects ; one Anders, called "the tower raiser," built twenty-two churches in Sweden of Lubeck workmanship. The Ecclesiologist will find many objects of interest, such as the cathedral of Upsala, Strengnas, Lund, and Westeras. M. Mandelgren, a Swedish artist, has made and published a collection of drawings of ecclesiastical antiquities. These include some of the ruined churches of Wisby, in Gothland, that curious old town, which is so frequently mentioned in mediæval chronicles. Before the Norman conquest of England, it was a great commercial emporium, and was, indeed, the parent city of the Hanseatic League. Mr. Fergusson, in his *Handbook of Architecture*, says :—

"During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a great portion of the Eastern trade, which had previously been carried through Egypt or Constantinople, was directed to a northern line of communication, owing to the disturbed state of the East. At this time a very considerable trade passed through Russia, and centred in Novgorod. Thence it passed down the Baltic to Gottland, apparently chosen for its island position, and its capital, Wisby, became the emporium of the West."

The "supreme maritime law of Wisby" has been adopted as the foundation for similar legislation in many countries. Its present aspect, gives the traveller the impression of a ruined city of the ancient world. So numerous were the nationalities that traded in the island, that there were a great variety of churches. Olaus Magnus says that amongst the foreigners who came thither may be reckoned "Gothi, Suedi, Russi, Prussi, Angli, Scoti, Flandri, Galli, Vandali, Saxones, and Hispani."

The old wall, thirty feet high, is entire, as are nearly all the forty-five towers. The Church of the Holy Ghost, built in 1046, is very curious ; it is a small octagonal structure, with a round massive Saxon arch for the main entrance, the windows and arches being in the same style.

In another of the old churches, the pointed Norman and the round Saxon are found together. Ancient tombstones, with Runic characters, are debased to modern uses, and fragments of these precious memorials of a time long past may be found in the pavements and staircases of existing houses. The population, which was once supposed to have numbered over 50,000, has now dwindled down to something like 4,000; in fact, the inhabitants of the whole island of Gothland do not much exceed the numbers who formerly dwelt within the walls of the town of Wisby.

In no part of Scandinavia has the old folk-lore been so well preserved as in this island of the Baltic. Here, amongst a simple and isolated people, the usages, the superstitions, and the legends of ancient days, linger on to our own time, showing how traditional thoughts and sentiments may bridge over from past to present.

Many of the ballads which the Swedish historian Geyer has been at pains to collect are here orally preserved, such as the pathetic story of "Axel and Walborg," and those strange questionings of fate, known as "Riddle Rimes." In Dr. Prior's introduction to his translation of *Ancient Danish Ballads* (page 46), he says:—

"I should be doing injustice to these northern nations if I did not add that in the whole vast collection of Danish, Swedish, and other Scandinavian ballads, there is not to my knowledge one of a demoralising tendency."

William Howitt, in his *Literature of Northern Europe*, has somewhere said:—

"In the Scandinavian ballads 'Little Kerstin' is the universal favourite. She is the model of woman in her beauty and her perfect goodness of heart. She is often unfortunate, but never revengeful; constantly injured, but always forgiving. She is a creature of sweetest life and boundless affection. She may be drawn from the line of morality, but she is never vicious."

One of Sweden's latest poets is King Carl XV., who died, alas! too early for his country and his fame, in the autumn of 1872. He published two volumes of poetry, *En Samling Dikter* and *Smärre Dikter*, which prove that he was, within certain limits, a true poet, and a writer, who, under severer discipline of life, might have produced better and more thorough work. A critique and some fragmentary transla-

tions of these poems appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*.\* We venture to transcribe a few lines from one of the poems—the *Vikingasaga*—as given in the above:—

‘ Mid the ancient pine-tree forests,  
Far in Norland, home of warriors,  
Linger yet old saga mem’ries  
Treasured from the Asa days :  
Deeds of valour by the poets  
Were embalmed in song that chaunted  
High the praise of heroes dwelling  
In sea-girded Swithiod.  
Everywhere were found in Nature  
Spirits fitted to interpret  
Saga tales of Sweden’s childhood.”

The translator has well observed that—

“ Were additional evidence requisite to prove the loyal and loving zeal with which the Bernadotte dynasty has ever striven to identify itself with all that is distinctively Scandinavian, and distinctively Swedish in particular, it would be found in these poems, the chief of which rest upon a thorough northern basis, and are supremely redolent in every page of Scandinavian thought and feeling.”

King Carl was a painter as well as a poet ; when we visited the palace at Stockholm, a few days only before his lamented death, there stood in the picture gallery an unfinished painting of his, on the easel, just where the master’s hand had left it. The subject was one of those forest-bordered lakes of Dalecarlia, with its lateral green valley and distant waterfall, seen at the hour when the soft after-glow of evening comes over earth and sky, in all the magic sweetness of the northern twilight.

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\* January, 1873.

ART. IV.—1. *On the Preparatory Arrangements which will be Necessary for Efficient Observation of the Transits of Venus in the Years 1874 and 1882.* By GEORGE BIDDELL AIRY, Astronomer Royal. *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. XXIX.

2. *The Universe and the Coming Transits.* By R. A. PROCTOR, B.A. Longmans Green and Co. London. 1874. Pp. 233—303.

WHEN the present issue of the *London Quarterly Review* is in the hands of its readers, some eighty stations on the surface of the globe will be occupied under exceptional circumstances by some of the most accomplished men of science which our age has produced. Many of the stations they will occupy are but little known, and almost inaccessible, being as inhospitable as they are uninviting. The parties these distinguished men will lead, as well as many of the leaders themselves, have been in all cases months, and in some instances years, in preparing themselves for their peculiar work. They are taking with them some exquisitely finished instruments, specially devised for their purpose, and of a nature never before employed; and others of a less special character, constructed for their particular use, and manufactured with the utmost delicacy possible to modern art and science. These groups of *savants* will represent nearly every civilised nation of importance on the face of the globe; and what they are doing will involve a probable outlay of not less than £250,000. It is not uninteresting or without importance, then, to inquire what the work is they are really engaged in, and to what issues it will lead.

The event itself will occur on December the 9th of this year, and is simply a transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun: an astronomical event wanting certainly in every incident which we call imposing; and yet, doubtless, the largest and most important celestial occurrence of the nineteenth century. Our knowledge of the absolute dimensions of the universe can never be closely approximated until we are absolutely certain of the real distance in miles between the earth and the sun; and with this are involved many collateral problems, such as the

rapidity of the flight of light waves through space. It is true that, so far as the solar system is concerned, we know the *relative* distances of one body from another; we know that if the distance of one body from the sun be so great, the distance of the next must bear a certain proportion to it. For Kepler's three laws of planetary motion are necessary consequences of the great law of gravitation. The first two of these laws deals with each planet by itself, and would hold good if there were but one such body revolving round the sun. But the third law establishes an essential relation between all the bodies in the solar system. It declares that "The squares of the times of revolution of the planets round the sun are proportional to the cubes of the major axes." If, then, we know the time of revolution of the planets, we may deduce their major axes, and, as a consequence, their mean distances from the sun. It is clear, then, that if we know the *absolute* value of the mean distance of any one of the planets from the sun, we know absolutely the mean distances of all the rest. But this is what we do *not* know. We are yet only approximately acquainted with even the earth's distance from the sun, and therefore our knowledge of the true scale of the solar system is, doubtless, materially at fault. To measure a distance is to compare it with a magnitude with which we have a familiar acquaintance; we get a clear idea of a mile by comparing it with a yard; we measure distances on the earth by miles. But our largest limits of absolute measurement are reached when we have measured the furthest distances upon the earth.

Thus any measured arc of the earth's surface may become a standard of absolute measurement of the sun's distance if a method of comparison can be devised. Various modes of obtaining such an absolute measurement have been suggested and employed from the time of Aristarchus of Samos until now. But since the enunciation of the laws of planetary bodies by Kepler, the solution of this problem has been considered to have the first and largest claim upon the attention of the astronomer.

There are several methods, more or less accurate, open to the modern investigator, by means of which this question may be dealt with. It is well known that an object looked at by the same observer from two different positions is apparently "displaced"—seen in a different direction. The absolute distance of a church tower far away from us



may be discovered readily by selecting a *base line* bearing a sufficiently large proportion to the apparent distance of the tower and employing a theodolite to measure the angle made by the line of sight with the tower, at the each end of the base line; we thus get a triangle of which one side and two angles are known quantities; and therefore the whole triangle, and consequently the distance of the tower, are known with an accuracy dependent upon the exactness with which the base line and angles are measured, and, to a collateral extent also, upon the skill of the observer and the perfection of his instruments. Now, with a celestial object sufficiently near in relation to the available base line afforded by the earth, its absolute distance might be measured in precisely the same way. This has been done in relation to the moon. The distance between any two points on the earth's surface lying six thousand miles apart, the latitude and longitude of which have been ascertained, is known with precision to within the tenth of a mile. Indeed, the polar diameter of the earth is ascertained certainly to within thirty miles. Now, with this knowledge, if any two places on the earth's surface be taken, sufficiently wide apart to give a good proportional base line, the actual displacement of the moon as seen from these two stations may, by competent instruments, be measured; for the background of stars forms a dial, as it were, by which the angular displacement may be estimated and compared. But the distance of the moon from the earth is only about thirty of the earth's diameters. Hence, although surrounded with difficulties, it has been accomplished. But this method cannot be directly applied to the sun, for, in the first place, from the extreme brilliance of the sun, no observation of his displacement can be made; for there is no background of landmarks to which to refer our measures: all is invisible but its own light, hence a minute shift could not be seen. And next, from the far greater distance of the sun, the problem is hundreds of times more difficult: nay, impossible. An obelisk five miles distant from an observer would suffer no apparent displacement from the ends of a base-line only two feet distant. Yet that is the proportion existing between the largest accessible base-line on earth and the distance of the sun. Directly then, the problem seems insoluble. But the astronomer is here assisted in his difficulty by his knowledge of the law associating the distances

of all the planets from the sun. For if one of the planets comes within a distance of the earth, making its parallax large enough to be accurately measured, then we could determine its actual distance, which would at once give the absolute distances of all, and so give us a key to a positive determination of the scale upon which the universe is built.

Now, Venus and Mars are the two planets that come nearest to the earth. But Venus under ordinary circumstances is not available for the purpose here discussed, excepting during the rare occurrence of a transit of the planet across the sun's disc; for the orbit of Venus being within that of the earth, she only comes to conjunction with the earth at the same time as she is in the immediate neighbourhood of the sun; so that it is as impossible to measure the direct parallax as it is that of the sun; her illuminated half being turned away from us. But Mars at certain periods comes comparatively near to the earth. His orbit is immediately outside that of the earth. Now, the orbit of Mars is so eccentric that between his greatest distance and his least distance from the sun there is 27,000,000 miles; and every fifteen years Mars is at his shortest distance from the sun at the same time that the earth is at its greatest distance; and the two planets are on the same side of the sun, and, therefore, instead of being, as they sometimes are, removed 256,000,000 miles from each other, they are not more than 35,000,000 miles apart. Thus, then, the problem of the sun's distance, roughly speaking, is reduced in the proportion of 35 to 90. For, in the case of this planet, the stars form a background of index points, and two observers at opposite parts of the earth, with competent ability and accurate and suitable instruments, can measure respectively the apparent distance of Mars from a given star, and therefore the arc on the heavens as estimated from the earth passed over by the planet's displacement. This gives the angle, and we know the base-line; the distance, therefore, can be deduced by suitable calculation. This was, in fact, the first accurate method employed for finding the distance of the sun. And the present Astronomer Royal has made this method still more serviceable by simplification. He has pointed out that observers at different stations are not absolutely necessary to its accuracy; but that still more satisfactory estimates of the planet's distance may be

taken by the same observer, in the same observatory, by carefully noting how far the diurnal rotation of the earth, by shifting the place of any fixed station, affected the position of the planet in relation to a fixed star, thus accomplishing the same result. This method was employed in 1862, giving a solar parallax of 8.9 seconds, corresponding to a distance of 91,400,000 miles. Another method of great theoretical value by which the problem has been attacked is due entirely to modern astronomers. It is dependent on the motions of the moon. Laplace had marked, amongst other perturbations of the moon, one which depended on its distance from the sun. When the moon is on the side of the earth nearest the sun, by the operation of the law of gravitation it must be attracted to the sun more powerfully than when it is on the side of its orbit opposite to the earth, that is, farthest from the sun. The result is that the sun's attraction pulls the moon away from the earth when she is nearest him, more than he pulls the earth away from the moon when the latter is farthest from him. It will thus be seen that the accuracy of any lunar theory must depend upon an accurate knowledge in miles of the distance of the sun from the earth; for, until the magnitude of his attraction (dependent on his distance) can be given, the observed place, and the calculated place of the moon, must differ. Now, this difference has actually been detected by Hansen, whose new tables of the moon enabled him to detect such a difference between the theoretical and the real places of the moon as to calculate from the difference of attractive force or perturbation a solar parallax of 8.916 seconds, corresponding to a distance of 91,520,000 miles. Thus, by comparing observation with analysis, a remarkable approximation to the truth has been reached. But a method that may eventually prove even of greater value, has been suggested and worked out by Leverrier. It is dependent upon certain periodical inequalities in the sun's apparent motion in the heavens. These arise from the fact that the moon travels once in a lunar month in her orbit, *not* around the centre of the earth, but around the centre of gravity of the earth and moon; and around this centre of gravity the earth also travels once in a lunar month. This centre is influenced by the sun's attraction. The amount of disturbance is extremely minute; but the number of observations has been and will be enormous:

and the real result is that the earth's motion in longitude is not equable; beside the variation in velocity due to the figure of the earth's orbit, there is an alternate advance and retrogression within the limits of a lunation. By working up an immense number of observations of the sun, made at all the chief observatories, Leverrier, slightly corrected by Mr. Stone, the present Astronomer Royal at the Cape of Good Hope, deduced a solar parallax of 8.9 seconds, giving for the sun's distance 91,759,000 miles.

Again, light moves through space at an extremely rapid and yet measurable rate. Now it is well known that the satellites of Jupiter are so placed in relation to their primary, that, as observed from the earth, frequent eclipses take place. That is to say, the satellites on passing behind the planet pass into his shadow, and for a time are lost to us. If any one of these be observed, as for example the first or nearest, we know at the outset the period of its revolution with the utmost accuracy. But by observation it is shown that these periods are not constant: that is to say, that the period separating any two immersions or emersions taken at different times is not of necessity equal. But it has been further found that the inequality is regular—that the time of the satellites' revolution gets shorter as the earth gets nearer to Jupiter, and longer as the earth gets further away from him. But the difference between our nearest position to the huge planet and our most distant one is the entire diameter of the earth. Hence, since light takes a sensible time to propagate itself through space, the apparent difference of time taken in the revolution of Jupiter's inner satellite when the earth is differently placed in relation to Jupiter, is due to the difference of distance over which the light of the immersed or emerged satellite has to travel in order to reach us. Now it has been found that it requires 16m. 30s. for light to travel across this interval (the earth's orbit), which gives 8m. 15s. for the distance of the sun to the earth, and as light is known to travel at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, this gives a distance for the sun of about 91,000,000 miles.

For the same purpose the aberration of the stars consequent on the earth's orbital motion has been employed as a test of solar distance. For in fact the consequence of the earth's annual revolution is the apparent motion of each star, when closely observed, in a small ellipse around its true place. This arises from the fact that the motion

of the earth in space bears an appreciable relation to the motion of light; and, therefore, to overtake this the telescope has to be inclined forward a measurable fraction in the direction in which the earth is moving, and equally sensibly in the opposite direction when the earth is moving in a contrary direction. The measure of this inclination of the instrument being accurately taken, and the rapidity of light known, the velocity of the earth in her orbit is easily found for a given fraction, and therefore for the whole of her orbit; and from this a parallax of 8.86 secs. has been deduced, making the sun's distance 92,100,000 miles.

While finally the refined and brilliant experiments of MM. Fizeau and Foucault have led to an approximation of the actual rapidity with which light waves are transmitted through space, which can scarcely at present be exceeded. Using an arrangement of rapidly revolving wheels and mirrors by which the rapidity of wave transmission in a beam of light could be measured, they made a series of carefully controlled experiments, and upon these based their calculations, from which they infer for the sun a horizontal parallax of 8.942 seconds, giving a distance of the sun from the earth of 91,400,000 miles.

It will be seen that the whole of this remarkable series of methods of investigating the most important practical problem in astronomy are independent of each other, and are based upon independent observation and experiment. Hence the striking approximation of results they afford is one of the most marked testimonies to the accuracy of modern scientific methods; for as they all point to a distance somewhere within 92 millions of miles. But each of these methods is encompassed by a certain difficulty or assumption peculiar to itself, which materially detracts singly from its absolute value, and therefore it is solely the remarkable agreement between all these various methods taken together that gives them their real importance. But the significance of these results was greatly enhanced by the fact that they showed so large a discrepancy with the received value of the sun's distance, which was actually 95,274,000 miles; and this was based upon the observations of the transit of Venus in 1769. It is true in these observations no definite principle was adopted, and in consequence, at the time, the mathematicians, basing their calculations on these observations alone, made the solar parallax vary between 9.2 secs. and 7.5 secs.,

equivalent respectively to distances of 87,890,780 miles and 108,984,560 miles. But during the years 1822-1824 Encke, the great German astronomer and mathematician, reconsidered the whole series of transit observations made in 1761 and 1769; he carefully examined all the conditions indicated in nearly 300 observations, and discovered, as he believed, the sources of erroneous interpretation; and by recalculation deduced for the sun's parallax, as shown by the former transit, 8.49 secs. and for the latter 8.60 secs., and by combining these he obtained the value 8.577 secs., which for so many years was the accepted value, amounting to something over 95 millions of miles.

This difference of result, then, as shown by the several modern methods on the one hand, and Encke's calculations of the transits on the other, led Mr. Stone, then at the Greenwich Observatory, to go once more over the entire recorded observations of the transits which had been calculated by Encke, to discover, if possible, what error might have escaped the German astronomer. As is well known to students of the question, and as we shall see further on, the dark body of the planet on entering upon the brilliant disc of the sun is distorted, and appears to be stretched from the edge of the sun for some seconds into a pear-shape; and finally the "ligature" joining the sun's limb and the planet breaks, leaving a clear space between the two. Mr. Stone found that some of the observers did, and some did not, fix their observations from the appearance of the fine band or juncture; and that to this the real source of error in Encke's calculation was to be attributed. And by grouping the observations on this principle, he found that his calculations founded on them gave for the parallax of the sun 8.91 secs., equal to a distance of 91,730,000 miles, and this with a probable error of  $0^{\circ}30' = 300,000$  miles.

This remarkable result was of the utmost value: for of the completeness and accuracy of the work there could be no question; so far as it could be, it was exhaustive; and the results brought the distance of the sun, as shown by the method of transit, into striking harmony with the results as shown by other means. And since the discovery of this error involved the examination of a dimension about equal to a human hair examined 125 feet away, its value as an index to the accuracy of modern methods may be seen. Plainly, then, nothing further could be hoped for on



this question unless some new opportunity for increased accuracy in observation should be afforded. This is precisely what the astronomer has in the approaching transits of 1874 and 1882. It is with the former of these that we are now practically concerned.

The orbit of Venus is within that of the earth. If the orbits of the earth and Venus were in the same plane there would be a transit of the latter every time it arrived at inferior conjunction with the sun. But their orbits are inclined about  $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and it is, therefore, only at long intervals that these transits occur. The earth takes 365.256 days to revolve in its orbit; Venus takes 224.7 days. But owing to the angle of the orbit of Venus with that of the earth, she passes above or below the earth's path, and no transit ensues. But when Venus passes between the earth and the sun, at the time that it is near the position in which her orbit crosses that of the earth, she will be seen to pass between us and the sun; that is across the sun's disc as a black body. Besides this their motions are such in relation to each other that if the transit do not happen when the planet is exactly at, or very near, the nodes of the orbits, the transit will recur in eight years. But should the former transit take place so as to cross the centre of the sun's disc, this does not happen. So that, with occasional exceptions, the intervals are 8, 121 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 8, 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 8, 121 $\frac{1}{2}$ , &c. years; and hence their importance when they occur.

The first astronomer who really saw the value of these occurrences was James Gregory, a mathematician of considerable eminence, who lived in the seventeenth century, and who, in his *Optica Promota*, says: "*Hoc problema pulcherrimum habet usum, sed forsan laboriosum, in observationibus Veneris vel Mercurii particulam solis obscurantis; ex talibus enim solis parallaxis investigari poterit.*"

But it is undoubtedly to the illustrious Halley that we are indebted for its practical application and actual employment. Before this, however, a transit of the planet had been predicted by Kepler, in 1631, but the calculation was in error, and consequently it occurred during the night of the last day on which Kepler and others looked for it; that is to say when the sun was below the horizon in Europe, where it was looked for, in consequence, in vain. Kepler had announced this as the only transit that would occur during the seventeenth century; but on the principle now well understood, the phenomenon recurred in 1639,



and was observed under circumstances that will make it memorable for centuries in the history of observational astronomy. This transit was unknown to any save two young Englishmen, Jeremiah Horrocks and William Crabtree, who observed it—the one at Hoole, near Preston, and the other at Manchester. Horrocks was, without question, a genius of the very highest order. He was born near Liverpool in 1619, in comparative poverty. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and became a curate at Hoole. In 1633 he first turned his great mathematical powers in the direction of astronomy; and although in those days there was no branch either of mathematical or physical science taught at Cambridge, he tells us that he could imagine “nothing nobler than to contemplate the manifold wisdom of the Creator amid so great a profusion of works; and to behold. . . the celestial motions, the eclipses of the sun and moon, and other phenomena of the same kind, no longer with the unmeaning gaze of vulgar admiration, but with a desire to know their causes . . . by a closer inspection of their mechanism.” The result was that he became for the short time he lived a profound astronomer; and, by his wonderful grasp and interpretation of a large difficulty in the lunar theory, he afforded important aid to Newton in the detail of a portion of the first book of his *Principia*. Horrocks was led to infer that a transit would happen in 1639 by a comparison of the tables of Venus calculated by Kepler with those of Lansberg; the former showed that, at conjunction, Venus would be a little below the sun; the latter indicated that she would just touch the western limit. He therefore made calculations for himself, and found that a transit would occur on the 24th November O.S. This was on a Sunday, and he continued to observe the image of the sun from its rising until the hour appointed for service in church; nothing, however, had yet appeared. He felt, nevertheless, bound to attend to his solemn duties, for he says, “ad majora quæ utique ob hæc parerga negligi non decuit;” thus displaying an evident mental struggle between his duties to science and the claims of religion. At the risk of losing so precious an opportunity, he attended to the latter. At three o’clock he was once more at liberty, and on turning his telescope to the sun and receiving the image on paper in a darkened room, he saw, with evident ecstasy, the planet projected on

the disc of the sun ; and he exclaims : " Oh, most gratifying spectacle ! The object of so many earnest wishes ; I perceived a new spot of unusual magnitude, and of a perfectly round form, that had just wholly entered upon the left limb of the sun, so that the margins of the sun and the spot coincided with each other, forming the angle of contact."

His observation of the transit could only extend to about half an hour, from the fact that the sun set ; and therefore, so far as his own work was concerned, little practical result issued save the expression of an opinion as to the proportional diameters of the sun and the planet ; which he thought to be as 30 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . But this observation has been of the very highest value in correcting the tables of Venus, and so assisting in future work.

At Broughton, near Manchester, where Crabtree was observing, the sky was overcast until a few moments before sunset, when he also saw the object of his desire, and a diagram was made by him of the planet's position in transit, which corresponded precisely with that of Horrocks. It is to be regretted that both these remarkable men died at an extremely early age. Horrocks died suddenly in the year 1640, and Crabtree is believed to have perished in the civil war which shortly after ensued. It is to the credit of our generation that an effort is being made to raise a monument to Horrocks in Westminster Abbey, and few in the rôle of science will better deserve such a position than this youthful author of *Venus in Sole Visa*.

It was not, however, until 1677 that the real value of transits of Venus as means of determining the sun's parallax was distinctly pointed out by the illustrious Halley. How far he may have been indebted to the suggestion given in the *Optica Promota* does not appear ; certain it is that the merit of reducing the method to practice lies with him. The principle of procedure is not difficult of explanation. If we know what angle is subtended by any known distance on the earth at the distance of the sun, we can find the sun's actual distance in miles. The relative distances of the earth, Venus, and the sun are known accurately. Let E and V (fig. 1) represent the orbits of the earth and Venus respectively—the arrows showing the direction of their motion. But the motion of Venus is faster than that of the earth ; she completes her revolution round the sun in 224 days, while the earth only does the same in 365 days ; so that Venus overtakes the

earth in her path. The resulting phenomena are precisely the same as if the earth passed through the shadow of Venus in the opposite direction. At 1 (fig. 1), seen along the line of sight 1 *a*, the first external contact of Venus with the sun would be visible; at 2 Venus will appear wholly upon the sun's disc, which is what is called first internal contact; at 3 she will be seen in mid-passage; at 4, seen along the line 4 *b*, the phase of last internal contact will be manifest; and at 5 the last external contact will occur; completing the transit. Now what Halley did was to find a station or stations on the earth so situated that the ingress of the planet upon the sun would be seen sooner than at any other; that is, where "accelerated ingress" would be realised by the observers, and where the egress would also be retarded, or seen later than any other place. In the same manner stations were to be found where ingress would be retarded and egress accelerated. The object of this is that, the observers being as far to the north and as far to the south as possible, the greatest displacement of Venus should be secured; or, in other words, the chords drawn by the planet across the sun, as seen from the two stations, would be as unlike each other in length as possible; for the difference between the observed *times of transit* at the two stations being the quantity which indicates the amount of separation, any possible error is reduced as the distance of the two lines is increased. Now this apparent displacement, expressed in angular measure, gives the parallax angle subtended by the distance between the two stations; from which, by means of the known ratio between the earth and Venus from the sun, the corresponding angle at the sun, and therefore the distance, can be found. Why the transit can be seen to be accelerated and retarded is dependent upon the fact that observers at northern stations will see Venus lower down or further south upon the sun's face, causing it to appear to traverse the disc nearer the centre, making the line of passage longer than the path of the planet as seen from the southern stations, which project Venus higher up, and so make her chord of passage shorter. While again, the rotation of the earth carries the observing station further to the east as the planet passes off the solar disc, thus appearing to shift Venus to the west, so accelerating egress. Just as a boat on a river passing a warehouse, does so to a fixed observer in a certain time, but if

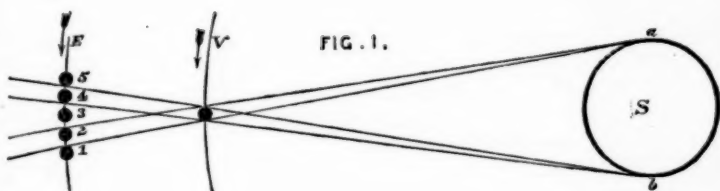


FIG. 1.

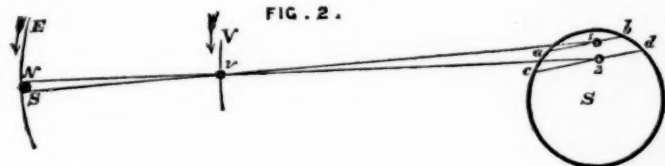


FIG. 2.

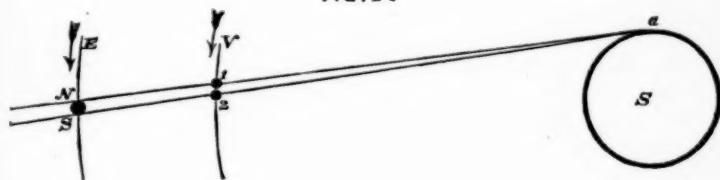


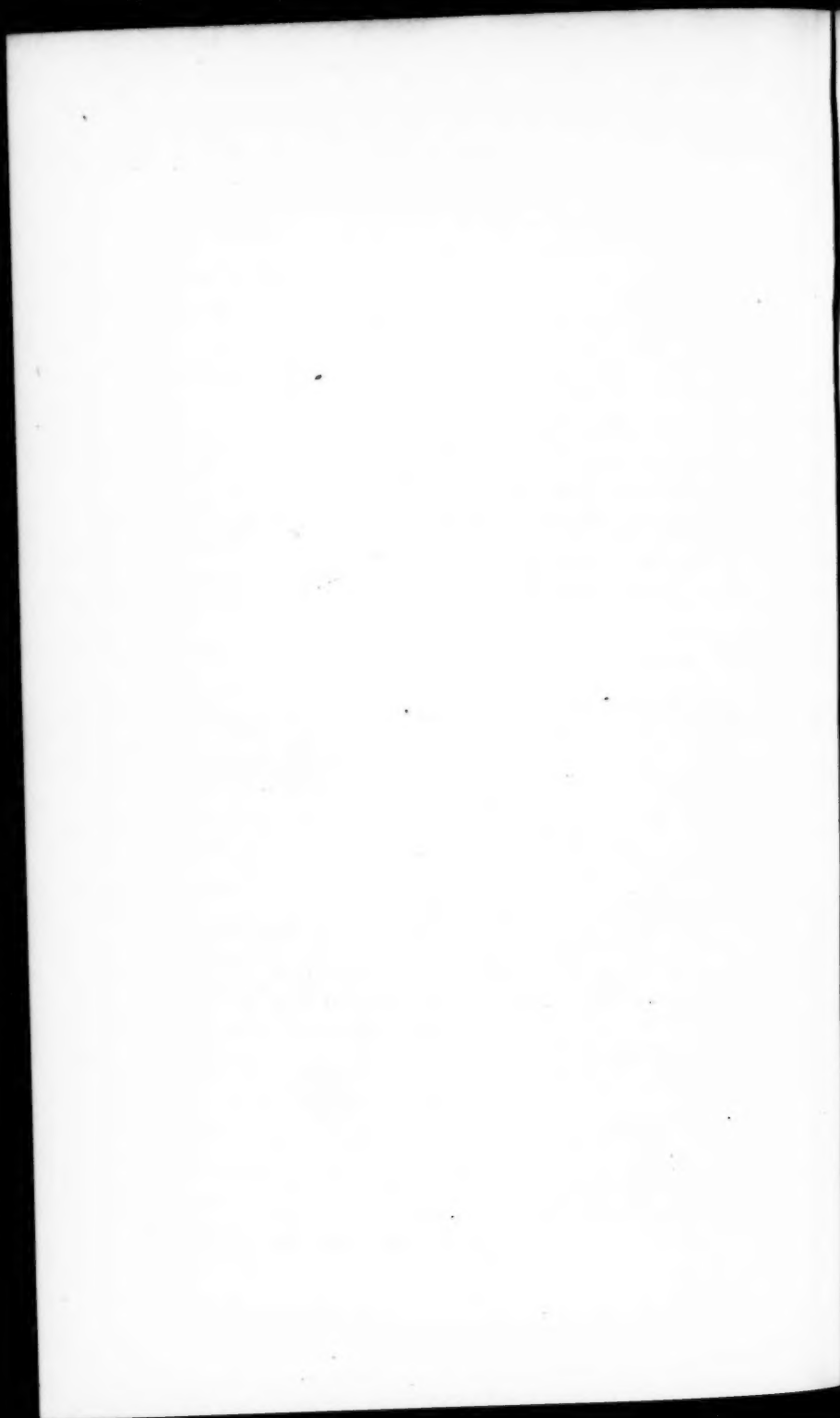
FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.





the observer himself move in the same direction, the time of the passage is lengthened; or if he move in an opposite direction, the time of passage is shortened; so by the careful selection of stations on the earth acceleration and retardation may be secured. In fig. 2, E is the orbit of the earth; V that of Venus; S is the sun. The line N v 2 represents the line of sight from a northern station. The line S v 1 shows the same from a southern station. The chord *a b* is the path of Venus as seen from the southern station; and the chord *c d* shows the path of the planet as seen from the northern. The purpose of the astronomer is to separate these lines of passage as far as possible. Now we know accurately the relative distance of Venus from the earth and the sun. We know, too, that Venus moves over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  seconds of arc in a minute; then, by noting the exact duration of the passage of the planet across the sun's face at both stations, it is easy to find the length of the chords *a b*, *c d*, and therefore, by suitable calculations, the distance which separates them. For this gives the value of the angle included between the lines v 1, v 2, which is equal to the angle N v S. But we know the distance N S, therefore we can mathematically obtain the value of N V. This gives the distance of Venus from the earth for the given time, from which the mean distance may be obtained, and, by the application of Kepler's law, the actual distance from the sun. This, stripped of mathematical complications, is the method of Halley, by which, if the time of contact can be observed with no greater error than a second of time, the sun's parallax can be ascertained within  $\cdot 02$  of a second of arc.

Now, in Halley's application of this method, he only used it in a limited manner. By his mode of employing it the two observing stations had to be chosen, so that during the transit one would move to the east and the other to the west; while it was also necessary that Venus should pass very close to the centre of the sun. But as now employed these conditions are not necessary, and therefore there is a distinction made by some astronomers between this general application of the method whose principle Halley laid down, and his own particular application of it, as mistakenly made, in 1761. And this broader application of the principle is called the *Method of Durations*. How far this is justified it is extremely difficult to discover; for clearly Halley was capable of giving his method the



applications to new conditions of which it was susceptible, as well as more recent workers. The fact that he did not live to realise the need of its modification is scarcely reason enough to dissociate his name from the principle which he laid down, when it has received such modification.

But there is another method of great importance which the astronomer may employ. For it we are indebted to Delisle, a French astronomer of eminence. This method, nevertheless, has much practical difficulty surrounding it, although beautifully simple in theory. Let  $N S$  (fig. 3) be the earth,  $V$  the orbit of Venus, and  $S$  the sun. When Venus reaches the part of her orbit marked 1, the observer on the northern part of the earth would see her just half way on the solar limb; but by the time Venus has reached 2, another observer in the south will see her in precisely the same position. Now let the exact times of contact be observed at both stations. Let the stations be so placed that the difference of time in observation is twenty-one minutes. A portion of this must be corrected for acceleration, &c., the remainder will be the measure of the angle drawn from  $a$  to  $N S$ ; and since Venus passes over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  seconds in one minute, and the distance  $N S$  is known, the distance between 1 and 2 may be readily calculated; because it bears the same proportion to  $N S$  that the distance of the earth from the sun bears to that of Venus from the sun. We know the time it takes for Venus to accomplish a complete revolution, and we have now (hypothetically) found the actual amount of distance in miles gone over in an accurately measured time. We can therefore measure the whole circumference of Venus' orbit in miles, and consequently, by Kepler's third law, its actual distance from the sun. With equal accuracy observations of egress may be made.

What is common to both these methods is that the wider apart the observing stations are the greater will be the prospect of exactness. But in Delisle's method it is absolutely essential to success that the *local* time should be known with the utmost accuracy; which, in fact, means that the precise longitude of the observing station shall be known. This is known well enough at Greenwich, or the Cape of Good Hope, or even the Mauritius, but it has no truth in relation to such places as Kerguelen's Island or the Sandwich Islands. But if the longitude be not accurately known the absolute difference of the times of contact at

the two stations compared cannot be known; and therefore the most delicate and perfect observation of the phenomena of transit will be simply thrown away. Yet if this desideratum can be discovered, a *single* observation of contact at ingress or egress at two opposite stations is all that is absolutely necessary for success.

On the other hand, Halley's method fails entirely unless the sky is clear for both ingress and egress at both stations; but it can wholly dispense with exact considerations of longitude, so important to the method of Delisle; for a well rated chronometer will supply all that is required—the time occupied in transit. But it must be further remembered that Delisle stations may often be employed for the Halleyan method; whilst if they were chosen and equipped for Halley's method alone, that of Delisle could not be employed at all; and it is in their joint application, where practicable, that there must be the greatest prospect of success. To attempt to push either method, on a partial consideration of the whole question, must be an error. It is not merely a mathematical question. It is not merely a question of what is the most perfect method abstractedly. It really resolves itself into the practical inquiry of what is the best thing to be done, taking every contingency into consideration, to secure the most valuable and certain results. Now it happens that this transit takes place in December—the south pole of the earth is turned towards the sun. Hence the cold will be severe in high northern latitudes, and in the south there is very little land available, and what there is is very little known; besides which, the meteorological conditions are extremely doubtful. And weighing all the circumstances with great care, Sir G. Airy decided on the employment of Delisle's method of observing first and last contacts, fixing on Honolulu, where the ingress will be accelerated, to be compared with Kerguelen's Island and Rodriguez, where there will be retardation. And New Zealand and Kerguelen's Island to be compared with Alexandria and the Siberian stations for egress; here also securing large retardation and acceleration. The first expression of preference by the Astronomer Royal for Delisle's method was made before the Royal Astronomical Society in April, 1857. He then also announced his opinion that whilst Halley's method was not applicable in the transit of 1874 it would be in 1882. And this was repeated with more careful

illustration in 1864. But in 1868 a most elaborate paper was read before the same Society by Sir G. Airy, "On the Preparatory Arrangements which will be Necessary for Efficient Observation of the Transits of Venus in 1874 and 1882." In this paper, at the very commencement, a remarkable statement is made. It is declared "that for determination of the difference between the sun's parallax and the parallax of Venus, the method by observation of the interval in time between ingress and egress at two stations at least, on nearly opposite parts of the earth (on which method, exclusively, reliance was placed in the treatment of the observations of the transit of Venus in 1769) *fails totally* in the transit of 1874, and is embarrassed in 1882 with the difficulty of finding a proper station on the almost unknown Southern Continent."\* Read in an ordinary manner, and interpreted by Sir G. Airy's previous use of similar phraseology, this distinctly states that what is usually received as Halley's method fails entirely in 1874. Since this is so absolutely far from the truth, we are fain to think that this could not have been his meaning. That is to say that he meant simply what has been called Halley's method proper—the method as supposed by Halley to be applicable in 1761—and that it is *not* of the so-called method of durations that he makes this sweeping statement. But even this leaves a large residuum of difficulty. For the method of durations which is applicable was not chosen at all, Delisle's method being selected as mathematically and practically the better method of the two. This paper attracted at once the attention of M. Puiseux, a French mathematician, and Mr. Proctor, the late Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. The former, in the *Comptes Rendus* for February, 1869, pointed out clearly that there was an error in the inference of Sir G. Airy that the method of observing the interval of time between ingress and egress at two stations "*fails totally*." He proved, indeed, that it might be applied with advantage in 1874. In his calculations, however, he had left out some important considerations; he had not taken into account the dimensions of Venus, but regarded her as a mathematical point; and had neglected the consideration that mean and apparent time are not coincident on the date of the transit. Mr. Proctor, on the other hand, worked out the whole question

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\* *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, vol. xxix. p. 33.

in all its parts, and proved that the method usually known as Halley's was not only applicable but much more suitable for observing the transit of 1874 than that of Delisle, even at some of the stations selected; but was pre-eminently so if indicated stations could on investigation be proved practicable. At the same time it was shown that it was almost useless as a method of observing in 1882. These facts were laid before the Royal Astronomical Society. At Nertchinsk, in Russia, the transit will last longer by nearly sixteen minutes than as if it were seen from the earth's centre. It begins six minutes early and ends ten minutes late. What was specially urged was that a station should be occupied by England (to be used with this) in which the transit should begin several minutes late and end several minutes early. This station was found to be Possession Island, where the phenomenon of transit begins six minutes late and ends eleven and a half minutes early. Thus at the one station the time of passage was lengthened sixteen minutes and at the other shortened seventeen and a half minutes, so fulfilling the most important conditions of a transit—the widest separation possible of the chords drawn by the planet on the sun's disc. No movement whatever followed the announcement of Mr. Proctor's statements—things were still shaping themselves for the sole adoption of Delisle's method. But on February the 13th, 1873, the whole case was stated with great force in the *Times*, and some explanation demanded. Upon this, correspondence ensued, and other branches of the Press broached the question. The Admiralty was aroused to make an official inquiry addressed to the Astronomer Royal, requesting the expression of his opinion. His official answer was sent to the Royal Astronomical Society as "A Letter from the Astronomer Royal to the Secretaries of the Admiralty expressing his Views on certain Articles which had appeared in the Public Newspapers in regard to the approaching Transit of Venus." In this letter it is argued that Mr. Proctor has taken into account *only* the mathematical side of the question—"strained the idea of occupying the northern and southern stations"—without considering whether the inhospitality of the region admitted of the possibility of occupying such stations. This is unquestionably a point of great moment, and the subsequent voyage of the *Challenger* has shown that most of the stations urged by Mr. Proctor as important in the last

degree could not be occupied for the purpose suggested. Nevertheless these stations, and worse, had been suggested by the Astronomer Royal for occupation in 1882, and this Mr. Proctor pointed out, insisting that we should *test* their practicability for 1874, since their employment, *if practicable*, was immeasurably more important then, than it could be in 1882. But Mr. Proctor has undoubtedly made too much of this suggestion of search for stations in 1882. It was simply a suggestion, and was evidently early abandoned, never having been brought before the Admiralty in an official form.

The Astronomer Royal further shows in this letter that his views are in accord with those of Dr. Oppolzer of Vienna, who argues that the main reason in favour of Halley's method was its independence of exact determinations of longitude, which, while it was a matter of great moment in past days, when observations on this subject could be so imperfectly made, was of no moment now when the difficulty has been removed by a more perfect knowledge of the moon's irregularities. Under these circumstances it is asserted that Halley's method "possesses no special advantage at the present day." It is then shown with what exactness the longitude of the five selected stations is to be taken, and avowed that a careful consideration of the whole of the facts precludes the author from recommending a Government expedition to high antarctic latitudes for the purpose of extending the employment of Halley's method.

Mr. Proctor replies to this, that Sir G. Airy has assumed the least favourable stations in his consideration, and insists that if more southern stations are not utilised, the whole expedition will fail. And this we think is where Mr. Proctor has erred; for he subsequently expresses at least comparative satisfaction with the final arrangements, when not a single geographical position has been added to Sir G. Airy's original plan.\* His eagerness to show that better stations might be found made him undervalue those selected. But to resume. Subsequently to this letter, the question was put in the House of Commons by Sir J. Lubbock, as to whether Halley's method would be employed; it was replied by the then First Lord of the Admiralty that no importance would be attached to its employment, even

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\* Except an Indian station subsequently referred to and chosen for another purpose.

if it should be used. But now a more important event happened. At the official visitation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, on the 7th of June, 1873, Professor Adams, whose power as a mathematician is perhaps unequalled, proposed a resolution, which was carried, that the Astronomer Royal should apply for an expedition to the South Seas for the selection of stations for observing the coming transit. As the result of this, the *Challenger* made a voyage of investigation; and found that Kerguelen Island was the best position for the English to occupy; and after leaving suitable instructions sealed up, and placed in a cairn, built for the purpose, returned to Australia and telegraphed the results. The effect of this was to show what was and what was not possible; and this was all that could be desired. Meanwhile, preparations were in rapid progression, and at length the final decisions were announced. That Mr. Proctor's arguments and demonstrations had had much weight in giving them their final form, it is impossible not to see. But that this has not been acknowledged (with the exception of the choice of a photographic station in Northern India, to which we shall again refer) is striking. Certain it is that now what *was* known as Halley's method, but has been distinguished lately as the "method of durations," is to be employed wherever possible; and this was no part of the original programme, and one of the special points urged by Mr. Proctor; a proof, indeed, that Halley's method, when used in its usual meaning, does not "fail totally." Beside this, the five geographical positions selected are to have *nine* stations upon them; and this is a matter of moment, although probably only the evolution of the original plan. The errors of the controversy appear to have been, on Sir G. Airy's side, a too hasty statement as to the total inutility of Halley's method for 1874, and its probable superiority in 1882; a statement certainly not correct, unless the terms he employed were used in a sense not natural: and on Mr. Proctor's side, the declaration that absolute failure must ensue, unless more suitable southern stations were employed. The compromise is the multiplication of observing posts on the geographical stations originally selected; at which, where possible, the Halleyan method is to be employed. But this is made as little of as possible, by an assurance that of course both ingress and egress will be observed where practicable; but the longitude will be



determined accurately, and the two observations will be worked up independently by *Delisle's method*. On this enlargement of the original scheme, Mr. Proctor congratulates astronomy, and is at least moderately satisfied. And we certainly congratulate him on the final result of his abundant labours.

There can be little doubt but that the preparations of the English astronomers are admirable in the last degree. In the employment of *Delisle's method*, we have seen that the matter of greatest moment is longitude. If we know the absolute time at a place, we know its longitude. The transport of chronometers set to Greenwich time would enable the observer to compare this with local time taken by a transit instrument, if the chronometer might be absolutely relied on. This is not the case; but the difficulty is partly overcome by transporting several chronometers to the place in question, and comparing their rate—especially with one *not compensated* for changes of temperature—from the changes of which the sum of temperature changes may be deduced.

A modern method of time signalling is the telegraph; which, when corrected for retardation with competent accuracy, is of the very highest value.

But on the motions of the moon, a high degree of accuracy for determining longitude may now be attained. Indeed, it is authoritatively stated that it is possible, by means of lunar transits, to attain almost perfect precision. What is required to be known is actual Greenwich time at any given moment. The passage of the moon amongst the stars affords an opportunity of finding this. Of course the tables of the moon are even now far from perfect; but these are corrected by constant observation. Now the moon moves through one degree in two hours, that is, through one second of arc in two seconds of time. If, then, the moon's place in relation to any star be definitely known in Greenwich time, a series of observations of this sort will suffice for the end in view.

Accurate observations as to the moon's position will be made first with a *transit instrument*, noting the exact time the moon crosses the meridian of the place, and finding its relation to certain known stars; next with the *alt-azimuth instrument*, which is a modification of the transit instrument. It is so constructed as to be moveable primarily about a vertical axis, as well as a horizontal one, both of

which are accurately divided and worked with verniers and microscopes. It may thus be used for either meridional or extra-meridional observations, and has been used constantly at Greenwich for determining the elevation of the moon when due east or west. It will therefore be a most suitable instrument for the accurate finding of lunar positions. But as in equatorial regions the motion of the moon is chiefly in altitude, so in polar latitudes the motion is mainly in azimuth; so that the instruments provided specially for the work, and finished in the best manner possible to modern manufacture, are only provided with the circles necessary to the latitudes for which they are intended; whilst a third method of finding the longitude by the moon will be by observing with good telescopes the exact moment of the occultation of a star by the moon's disc. This affords a most valuable opportunity of comparing Greenwich with local time. Now, when it is remembered that every instrument necessary to the work will be employed by men eminently skilful in their use, and furnished with the most accurate tables which modern science can give, it is not too much to hope that extreme accuracy may be attained in fixing the longitudes of the observing stations. It should also be remembered that this may be, and, in several instances, doubtless will be done, *after* the transit has occurred. Indeed, *any* subsequent correction of the longitudes of the places in question will be only so much additional data for a more accurate reduction of the observations. But if the longitudes of the places can be determined within a second, or less, there can be but little question of the superiority of Delisle's method.

But a practical difficulty has here to be encountered. Granting that the longitude and absolute time have been, or may be, found with precision, the real difficulty will be to note the exact moment at which the planet is in clear internal contact with the sun's limb. This difficulty arises from the peculiar behaviour of a planet in transit, when it breaks contact at ingress, or makes it at egress. We have already alluded to this. The phenomenon is known as that of the “black drop” due to irradiation. It is a common experiment in the lecture-room to heat, by means of a “coil,” a fine piece of stretched platinum wire, that its remarkable thickening may be seen—which is due almost wholly to irradiation. Indeed, every bright object appears in the dark somewhat larger than it is, because the borders of the

image on the retina affect the surrounding parts. On this account every dark object appears smaller than it is in reality, because of the extreme brilliance of the background causing the luminous border around the dark object to encroach upon it, thus diminishing its apparent size. The result is, that just as Venus is within the sun's disc, she assumes a pear-shaped aspect. Thus at ingress,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , fig. 4, represent successive stages of the appearance of the planet in its passage to actual internal contact. The point to be decided is which of these conditions represents actual contact of the limbs. Apparently the contact is actually made at  $\alpha$ , for if the circular outline of the planet seen on the right-hand side were continued on the left, it would just be in contact with the sun's limb. But if the laws of irradiation be carefully considered, it will be seen that the absolute moment of contact is at the instant depicted at  $\gamma$ ; for if in fig. 5  $AA$  be the apparent edge of the sun, increased by irradiation, then  $bb$  is the true edge. But the black disc represents the size which Venus appears also under the influence of the same laws, and the outline circle beyond it shows its *real* size; and this, it will be seen, is the moment of actual contiguity of the limbs—the moment of internal contact. Hence the apparition of the extremely fine line is the moment to be watched for at ingress and egress. And here delicate instruments, propitious atmospheric conditions, and great skill are required. In the observations of the transits of 1761 and 1769, the difficulties were enormous in reducing the observations; for between the conditions represented at  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ , fig. 4, a difference of eighteen seconds ensued; and unless it can be decided what the time of actual contact *is*, there *must be* some seconds of error. But further, the personal equation of each observer must be known. That is to say, different persons, in observing astronomical phenomena, make errors that bear a permanent ratio to those of others. Some will detect a time phenomenon, like the transit of a star, a large fraction of a second before others. And this is a permanent condition. For the accurate reduction of the observations, then, it follows that the relative personal equation of all the observers should be known. But this can only be done by experiment; and therefore all the principal nations engaging in this great enterprise have set up *artificial transits*; that the whole phenomena may be gone through by anticipation. At Greenwich this ap-

paratus consists of a metallic partition, out of which has been cut a portion which represents the two edges of the sun, where ingress and egress occur. Behind this a plate of glass with a circle of metal let into it, level with itself, glides across the opening by clockwork; and behind this again is a mirror, which reflects direct sunlight. With a telescope this artificial transit is observed at about four hundred feet away; and thus the observers have been practised singly and in comparison with each other, that, as far as could be, absolute accuracy in observation might be secured.

This, however, will be still further enhanced by using a double image micrometer eyepiece, which was devised by Sir G. Airy some years since. One of the lenses of which this eyepiece is composed is cut in halves; each half lens is fixed in a frame connected with a screw adjustment. When the two lenses are together in the position they occupied before separation, only one image is seen, and the scale and vernier mark zero. But if these semi-lenses are moved along the line of division, the single image becomes two; each of which moves with the motion of the lens which forms it. Hence, when contact has past at ingress and Venus has gone actually in upon the sun's disc, one image of the planet may be carried back to touch the second image of the sun's limb. And this will be specially valuable in earlier stages of contact, and may be repeated several times. While, still further to insure against possible error, an eyepiece has been devised to correct the dispersive power of the atmosphere in observing the sun at such low altitudes as are necessary in this case.

Also, as we have already seen, the method devised by Halley will be used, where possible, at even English stations, under the name of "The Method of Durations"—that is, an accurate observation of the time interval between ingress and egress will be made.

But that which will specially distinguish this observation of the transit of Venus, will be the employment of photography as an important instrument in approaching to absolute precision in this most interesting problem. The earliest celestial photograph ever taken was that of the moon in 1840, by Dr. J. W. Draper, of New York. From that time to this the whole science and art of celestial photography has arisen; and has become of such value

to physical and mathematical astronomy as it is impossible to overrate. A remarkable instance of its value now lies before us in the July number of the *Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society; where a structure detected by Mr. Raynard on all the negatives of the photographs of the eclipse of 1871 is shown; and which there is a very high probability is the photograph of a comet—faint, though large—near to perihelion at the time of the eclipse, and which would never have been known to exist, if it had not by its own light portrayed its presence, and to a large extent its form. But so recent are the triumphs of this wonderful art, that its introduction as an agent in the coming expeditions was an afterthought, and was not a part of the earliest project. To Mr. De la Rue we, as a nation, are largely indebted for its employment in the British expedition; although in working out the details there have been many able coadjutors. But when it was decided that the photographic method should be employed, it was pointed out by Mr. Proctor that a station in Northern India would be of great advantage for comparing the work done at it with that which might be accomplished at our southern stations. Acknowledging the value of this suggestion, the Astronomer Royal took steps for securing it: and it is now agreed that Roorkee shall be occupied by a British expedition chiefly for this purpose. The instruments to be employed are based upon the photo-heliograph, so long and successfully used at Kew. It is a large telescope, mounted equatorially, and furnished with clockwork, so as accurately to follow the sun. In this way photographs may be taken at any stage of the transit: and Mr. De la Rue has improved and adapted an apparatus, invented for the purpose by M. Janssen, which may be attached to this instrument for a special purpose. It is an arrangement for taking in succession, on different parts of a revolving plate, at intervals of a second, a series of small photographs of Venus and the contiguous parts of the sun's edge near the time of contact. In this way the entire progress of external and internal contact with all the phenomena of the "black drop" will be made to tell its own tale—depict its own features—and the *time* at which it does so in each case will be accurately known. Every effort has been made to use means to prevent shrinkage of the collodion; and by the dry-plate process, which it is now

decided is to be employed, this may be disregarded; so that the actual transit may be, in fact, in some of its most important features, studied at home, when all the excitement of the occasion has passed away.

We have thus indicated the more prominent methods of observation, and some of the details of their employment in the study and solution of this great problem. We shall now summarise the distribution of the observing parties as sent out by the several nations.

The English expeditions will consist first of three observing parties in the Sandwich Islands, for the observation of accelerated ingress—one situated at Honolulu, another at Owhyhee, and a third at Atooi. Here Captain Tupman, the moving spirit and master of the whole enterprise, will be placed with a competent staff; and photography will be specially relied on for determining the moment of ingress.

Retarded ingress will be observed at Kerguelen Island, where the Rev. S. J. Perry will take the command. No attempt will now be made by this party to land at Heard Island, but there will be two observing stations on the Island of Kerguelen and another at Rodriguez. In these southern stations the whole transit is visible, and photographs of ingress and egress, as well as of the chord of transit, will be taken.

At New Zealand a station will be occupied at Christ Church, for accelerated egress, when Major H. Palmer will be chief.

At Cairo retarded egress will be specially observed, with Captain C. O. Brown, R.A., in command; who has given strong reasons for choosing this in preference to Alexandria: and intends also to plant an observing station near the site of ancient Thebes.

The Indian station at Roorkee for photographic purposes in the observation of retarded egress will be well occupied and furnished with every requisite in the interests, it appears, of Delisle's method. Then the observatories at Madras, Melbourne, Sydney, and the Cape of Good Hope will be able to render most efficient service; and the Colonial Governments have provided grants for the purpose, so that no opportunity will be neglected. Beside all this, of course there are vast questions of detail to be worked out for the successful accomplishment of the objects in view, such, for instance, as the preparation of suitable huts for observing, and suitable housings to dwell in, and



competent provision for a prolonged stay in some of the most desolate quarters on the whole surface of the globe. But all this has been carried out with an efficiency which reflects credit on all concerned. The outlay sanctioned by Parliament is £15,000. But in addition to this there is a private expedition equipped by Lord Lindsay, which will occupy the Mauritius. The observations will be chiefly compared with those made in Siberia, and all the most important methods will be employed. Photography is splendidly provided for; and the heliometer will be used by this party as by Russia—an instrument not provided in the English official expeditions.

The Americans will occupy a noble place in this great enterprise. Their Government grant is £30,000. On account of the more favourable meteorological chances of the North, they will occupy three Northern Stations—Wladivostock, in Siberia; Tien-tsin, in China, and probably Nagasaki, in Japan. In the South from the position of America, the vessel taking her expeditions will endeavour to land a party at the Crozet Islands, one of the excellent Halleyan stations pointed out by Mr. Proctor; she will leave another at Kerguelen Island; from thence she will go with a third to Hobart Town, Tasmania; another party will also be put down at Bluff Harbour, in New Zealand; and one more in Chatham Island.

The photographic apparatus employed by American astronomers differs very much in detail from that employed by the English, the Russians, and the Germans, and in this there is doubtless an advantage. Each American station will be provided with a photographic telescope, an observing telescope of five inches aperture, mounted equatorially; a transit instrument, and an astronomical clock. They will rely chiefly on photography, and their stations all admit of the use of the method devised by Halley.

The Russians naturally occupy their own Siberian stations. It is possible that some little service may be rendered at Kazan, Nicolaïf, Charkof, Odessa, and even Moscow. But apart from these there are to be twenty-six stations; but of these only the following will be supplied with a complete equipment of observers and instruments, viz.: Wladivostock, Port Possiet, Lake Hanka, Nertschinsk, Xhita, Kiachta, Tachkent, Port Peroffski, Fort Uralsk, Aschura-deh, and Erivan. These stations will be furnished with astronomers, who are prepared by work

with the artificial transit, and who are furnished with excellent equatorials with clockwork motion, a heliometer, or a photographic apparatus. The other stations are to be provided with good observing telescopes, and the remainder merely with small instruments. At eleven of the stations both ingress and egress will be seen, so that the Halleyan method may be employed; and at the remainder of the stations they will be chiefly concerned with retarded egress. M. Struve also has visited this country, as well as others, that comparisons might be made and greater accuracy secured.

The stations chosen by the French are Campbell and St. Paul's Islands, Houmea, Pekin, Yokohama, and Saïgon. M. Janssen goes to the Yokohama station, and this station in connection with St. Paul's will be almost perfect for the Halleyan method. But great care is to be taken in the finding of longitudes; so that if only ingress or egress can be observed the Delisle method may be employed. It is also an important matter that the French photographs will be taken by the Daguerreotype process, ensuring delicacy and avoiding the difficulties possible to the shrinkage of the film employed in other methods. The parties at St. Paul's and Campbell Islands—placed as they will be on islands of desolation—are furnished with fuel and provisions for six months. Originally the sum granted was 300,000 francs; but this is to be considerably augmented; and there may certainly be excellent results anticipated from this national effort.

Finally, the Dutch are sending out an admirably equipped expedition to the island of Réunion. It is to be provided with a very fine heliometer and a photo-heliograph by Dallmeyer, like those used by England; and two excellent refractors for observation. They will also be furnished with meteorological instruments and all apparatus necessary for finding longitude and time.

On the whole, therefore, we cannot but be gratified at the careful and elaborate efforts and preparations made by all the great civilised countries of the globe to observe this comparatively insignificant celestial phenomenon. The preparations may certainly be pronounced competent to the present requirements of science, and are proofs of the firm and wide-spread influence which the truest civilisation has upon our race. The results of the observations it is impossible to foresee, chiefly arising from the contingency of

weather. But it may be fairly anticipated that accuracy to within a fraction of a second of time may be expected; and, although probably we may have a year or two to wait for the results of the very elaborate calculations which will be based on the coming observations, the probability is very high that the sun's absolute distance will be known to within a comparatively few thousand miles. Further corrections will probably be made in the subsequent observation that will be instituted in the transit of 1882; and then, unless some new and unexpected method presents itself in the interval, the world must wait for still more accurate knowledge, until the transit of Venus in 2004.

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ART. V.—*Hellas und Rom*. [A Popular View of the Public and Private Life of the Greeks and Romans. Part I. Rome under the Antonines.] Von Dr. ALBERT FORBIGER. Leipzig: Fues. 1874.

It is not our purpose to review at length this elaborate work, partly because it is unfinished, and partly because it is so vast and indeed bewildering in its variety, that any such design would necessarily be futile. The work itself is not novel in its idea; it belongs to the class of archæological and antiquarian books which throw their matter into the form of personal narrative or personal description. Dr. Forbiger introduces us to a young Greek in the age of the Antonines who visits Rome, and records his researches and his observations. The Greek is exceedingly dull; but, as volume after volume proceeds, the author contrives through him to tell us almost everything that is known or is likely ever to be known about the condition of the earlier Roman commonwealth and the first empire. When completed the work will be an invaluable companion to all histories. We had been reading the last volume of Dr. Merivale when it was put into our hands, and found his closing chapter on Marcus Aurelius as a philosophic emperor and persecutor of the Christians doubly valuable when the light of Dr. Forbiger's chapters on the religion of Rome at that era was thrown upon it. We shall give much of the substance of these chapters, hoping that the entire work will reach its natural termination and be translated.

The chapters to which we limit ourselves for the present connect the subject with Christianity, and introduce us at once to the philosophical emperor:—

"The festal sacrifice mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with the triumph, and the religious ceremonies observed, lead me to speak of the religious cultus of the Romans as a whole, and to incorporate some description of a public day of sacrifice. The State religion in the Roman empire is, of course, still the old Italian Polytheism, but enlarged essentially by contact with Greece, and more lately with Oriental elements, especially Egyptian. All the highly educated Romans, instructed by the writings and

lectures of the philosophers, have long tended to favour the belief in one divinity as Creator and Ruler of the universe, therein agreeing with the religion of the Jewish people, and Christianity which proceeded from Judæa about a century and a half ago. This Christianity, in spite of many persecutions, especially under the Emperor Nero, has been constantly extending, which indeed is not according to the mind of our monarch, who speaks very unfavourably of the Christians. He does not oppose their persecution, which, however, excites my astonishment in some measure, since the doctrine of the Christians, so far as I have had opportunity of studying them, far better harmonises with the religious views of so devout, noble, and philanthropic a prince than any other religious system. But it is probable that the conscientious monarch follows out rather his governmental obligations than his personal convictions; and thinks that, so long as Polytheism is the State religion, and the whole fabric of the State is so inwardly bound up with it, it is his duty not to give any advantage to a religion the progress of which seems fitted to overthrow the whole constitution of the State, indeed, to annihilate the State itself, as being utterly opposed to the worship of the gods, and bent upon exterminating faith in them. So at least I am inclined to interpret the disinclination of the emperor to a system which I confess we do not yet fully understand. As Pontifex Maximus, or high priest, himself, to whom is committed the conduct of all religious affairs, and whose dignity as such is vitally connected with the throne, he could not possibly favour the Christian cause. On this account he follows most conscientiously the prescriptions, and observes most accurately the ceremonies of the old State religion, and with careful fidelity cherishes all ancient customs."

Marcus Aurelius is one of the most striking characters in history, and one of the most difficult to the historian, especially the Christian historian. In the chronology of the Church he marks the epoch when heathenism put forth its last and best effort to maintain itself against the new faith. In the person of the emperor it played, so to speak, against the new philosophy its best move, or rather threw down the gauntlet of its last defiance. After him heathenism had no more than it could do. But the virtue of Aurelius was a very faint reflection of the virtue of the Gospel. It was not irradiated by the light of the future, and lacked the inexpressible beauty which the glory of the other world gives to religion. And it failed in conscious accomplishment of its own objects and attainment of its own aims. It is the glory of the Christian faith that it shows to man the way of a sure and uninterrupted communion with God: to this the philosophic emperor aspired,

but never reached it. Before proceeding with our author we must enrich our pages with some of the best sentences on the subject to be found in our own language. They are among the concluding sentences of *Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire* :—

“Of the feelings and character of the imperial philosopher, a deeply interesting portraiture is left us in the memorials of his private meditations. Amidst the toils and terrors of the Marcomannic war, in the camp or the military station, on the banks of the Danube or the slopes of the Carpathians, Aurelius snatched a few hours from his labours to question his conscience on the discharge of his duties, to confirm himself in the precepts of philosophy, to fortify his soul against the troubles of the world and the dread of death. The records of that self-examination extend to twelve books, each containing numerous remarks or maxims, generally unconnected, involving manifold repetitions, and presenting thoughts of very different value; but all tending to establish the broad principles of the Stoic philosophy, as then thought and understood. Aurelius had imbibed the learning of Rusticus, of Sextus the son of Plutarch, and of Apollonius, of whom we have no special knowledge; but of the sage Epictetus, whom he most studied and admired, some remains have been collected by which his own position among the best and wisest of the ancients is established, and which disclose the true basis of the imperial philosophy. The point of interest in these works is the place they hold between the teaching of the earlier philosophers and that of the revivalists of the third century. The time had come for a strong reaction towards positive belief. The heathen mythology had drawn with it in its fall the principles even of natural religion. But this decline had reached its limits. In default of a better system, mythology itself might again rear its head. We have already noticed symptoms, faint and transient, perhaps, of such an impending restoration. Even had the revelation of Christianity not been made, the Nemesis of unbelief would doubtless have raised some objects on the surface of the whelming waters, were they but straws, to clutch at; and the abortive efforts of Augustus and Domitian towards a ritualistic revival, show the direction in which the tide of opinion or sentiment was setting. But, already in the second century, the positive teaching of the Christians had reanimated religious speculation beyond its immediate circle, and we may trace in Epictetus and his imperial admirer the effects of a moral movement which it will not be unjust to ascribe, at least in part, to the influence of St. Paul and his Master. Both Epictetus and Aurelius recognise fully the personal existence of Deity; neither the concrete divinities of heathen legend, on the one hand, nor any single and infinite existence on the other, but rather a multitude of



abstract essences, the nature and distinctions of which are wholly beyond the scope of human definition. This cordial belief in God as a moral intelligence is a step decidedly in advance of Seneca, and amounts, indeed, almost to a negation of the fundamental article of the older Porch, the pre-eminence of a blind and soulless fate. There is some advance, indeed, in Aurelius beyond Epictetus; the pupil is wiser than the master, and seems to arrive at a genuine conviction of a moral providence. Nevertheless, on one important point, both the one and the other have fallen behind Seneca. Their hold of the doctrine of a future life appears even fainter than his. Epictetus, indeed, hardly ventures to regard it at all; Aurelius, more hopeful, more loving, more ardent, seems to cherish the fond aspiration, though he dares not assert it as a dogma. But for this apparent falling off, a sufficient reason may be assigned. The later Stoics had attained a clearer idea of the personality of God, with a higher conception of His greatness and purity. He could not rest in the Pantheism of an earlier age; immortality, in their view, must be personal and individual, if it exist at all. But the temper of the age, as of every age of declining civilisation, was deeply infected with the principles of materialism; it required faith in the specific dogma of the Christian resurrection to allay its feverish distrust in a future state of being. In the next century, the mellow Stoicism of these amiable enthusiasts was supplanted, in turn, by the new Platonism, which advanced from the faint apprehension of a personal Deity to a grasp of His attributes and nature; which embraced a distinct belief in the emanation of the soul from Him, and yearned for a reunion with Him. The errors of the Alexandrian school, fantastic as they were, served to prepare mankind for the reception of the Gospel. Thus it was that philosophy and religion at last united on the solid ground of an intelligent faith in God. On this ground was raised the structure of the Athanasian theology. The clouds and fogbanks of Plotinus and Porphyry, of Julian and Libanius, were replaced by the enduring fabric of the doctrine of the Christian Trinity."

To the enthusiast, through whose eyes Dr. Forbiger beheld the emperor, everything pertaining to him was stamped with a peculiar dignity. He had the privilege of beholding Aurelius both in public and private, and gives his impressions at great length. Our readers will remember, of course, that these impressions are simply reproductions of the testimonies of the times. The philosophic emperor was the very opposite of his predecessor as to external magnificence; he was attended only by a few servants and clients, like an ordinary senator, distinguished only by the purple toga. His aspect, when our informant saw him—he was then forty-three years old—was sickly,

and with a fixed unchangeable look that at first glance revealed the vigorous Stoical philosophy. However condescending his greetings to those whom he met on his way to the senate, and however affable to the crowds who parted everywhere and closed up again without giving his *anteambulones* any trouble, no smile was seen to play about his compressed lips, and his features bore the impress of domestic trouble and State care. Dr. Forbiger does not make his observer suspect any other secret of the emperor's depression. But we cannot forget that the influence of Christianity was upon him, and that he could not be otherwise than oppressed by the terrible controversy between his proud spirit—for it was proud—and the humbling appeals of the Gospel of Christ. Nor can we suppose it possible that the emperor who persecuted many whom he must have regarded as the very best specimens of goodness in the world could have any rest in his soul. But there is a remarkable absence of data for the formation of a judgment: the emperor's silence on these points, however, itself gives us some ground for our judgment.

That he was, with all his goodness, a persecutor, there can be no doubt, a persecutor, that is, not only by State necessity but by vindictive enmity, to the Christian faith. His predecessor, Antoninus, had been solicitous to protect the Christians. But Aurelius resented Christianity as an outrage on a national faith, which however he did not, he could not, himself hold. As Dr. Merivale says:—

“These august shadows had nerved the arms of a line of heroes; these potent names had swayed the imperator in the field, and the consul in the senate house. They existed at least in the realities they had effected, in the deeds they had produced, in the resolutions they had inspired. Under their influence the empire had waxed and flourished; the actual crisis of her fortunes was not the moment to test their value by a wanton defiance. The firmness of the Christians seemed to Aurelius strange and unnatural. He scanned it as a marvel, before he resented it as a crime. In another generation the emperors will cease to reason or reflect on the phenomenon at all. The increasing disasters of the State will seem to them, as they seemed already to the multitudes, a proof of the anger of the gods against the most formidable enemies of Olympus.”

Be that as it may, Aurelius was a gloomy and fanatical persecutor of men whose principles were, as he well knew, as pure at least as his own. The blood of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna in the East,

and of Pothinus, Ponticus, and Blandina, at Lyons in the West, must have tormented his conscience. It was not simply that he had continued a persecution begun by others; he had deliberately ordered or allowed the edicts of Trajan and Hadrian, which forbade the Christians to be sought out, to be abrogated. It must be added, however, that perhaps the signs of sadness on the emperor's countenance indicated the beginnings of repentance. Certain it is that in his latter days his sentiments became somewhat more tolerant. It is impossible to say whether the contempt of a successful emperor was the reason of this, or what measure of compassion entered into it. A Christian tradition says that after the success of the Christians' prayers against the Quadi, the emperor checked the persecution. Traditions of that century are not to be trusted; but it is past doubt that the persecution lessened rather than increased, and it is probable that the natural tenderness of the emperor grew ashamed of a cruelty which his philosophical pride forbade him to repent of and confess.

Whatever Marcus Aurelius was, he fairly represented the religion of Rome: whether as the representative Pontifex of its mere ceremonial, or the philosophical representative of the creed that lay beneath it. As to the Roman State religion itself, we have a long and very instructive chapter, some of the leading points of which may be summed up. The beliefs of the older inhabitants of Italy, before they came into nearer contact with the Greeks, were hard, colourless, and devoid of poetry. They did little more than take the abstract forces of nature, in their endless variety of forms, and honour them as divinities, which, however, they denoted merely by symbols, without picturing to the eyes any image of them, however rude. Jupiter was denoted by symbols of power, such as a flint; Mars by a spear; Vesta by a tongue of flame. The number of the gods and goddesses was amazing, surpassed in no superstition ever known; if, that is, account is taken of the legions of names given to the presiding and protecting deities who were invoked as connected with every function and every development of life. Hence no one god was appealed to in prayer without some reference of a more general kind to all other gods; just as the saving clause was added, in connection with every particular name, "or however else thou art known."

There were not always among the Romans these multitudes of "gods many and lords many." The ancient Latins reckoned Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, probably Faunus, then Jana (or Diana), Juno, Ops, and Vesta; to whom were added, after the union with the Sabines, the deities Quirinus, Sancus, Sol, Luna, Flora, Salus, Fortuna, and Minerva. Janus, who was undoubtedly the Sun-god, was gradually absorbed by the Jupiter common to both stems, who became the supreme god and guardian of the entire people, Janus being remembered only in connection with the gates which were opened in time of war, and shut in time of peace. Jana, the Moon-goddess, entirely disappeared in Diana, doubtless no other than Dea Jana contracted. The others continued to be honoured under the old names, although the cultus of some of them, such as Sancus and Ops, almost lost all its significance. These ancient gods were later distinguished as the home-gods (*indigetes*) and the gods brought from abroad (*novensiles*)—gods, that is, received from the subjected states. This distinction laid the foundation for the tolerance of the Romans towards foreign worship; in every case, that is, in which such worship did not come into antagonism with the State religion, as the Christian religion did. Rome provided that every sojourner within its walls might worship after his own fashion, so long as his religion was Polytheistic. There was some distinction, however, as to locality, in earlier times. The home-gods were honoured within the old city; those of the Latins on the Palatine; those of the Sabines on the Quirinal. The foreign gods were located in places outside the *Pomœrium*; and most of these had their own special *flamens*, or priests. Thus there was in ancient Rome something like the Court of the Gentiles; but with this immense difference, that into that Court every nation and every man might bring his own god.

The effect of this benevolence towards foreign religious ideas may be traced, not only in the Sabine incorporations, but in the Greek, which amounted to a complete reconstruction, and afterwards in the glorious revolution effected by Christianity—received, though not tolerated. The Greek influence dates back to Tarquinius Priscus. From that time symbols ceased to suffice; statues were formed after Greek models, at first of wood; then more stately temples were built, and bloody sacrifices were introduced,

which were not in use in the time of Numa, when offerings included only fruits, meal mixed with salt (*mola salsa*), with milk and wine. To two acts of Tarquinius Superbus may be attributed an essential revolution in the service of the deities. First, the union of the community of Rome, hitherto divided as to religion, by the erection of the temple on the Capitol, consecrated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as the common sanctuary of the whole people, to which every citizen had access; before this the Patricians alone might take part in the public service, and the Plebeians were excluded. Secondly, the collection of Sibylline books, which, in his time, were arranged and deposited in the Capitoline Temple. These were prophecies which came mainly from Asia Minor, composed in Greek hexameters; and by these means not only were many Asiatic Greek divinities added to the number of the old Latin, with new cultus after Greek fashion, but also the direction of divine worship was taken out of the hands of Patrician priests and committed to the State. In fact, religion was made a national concern: at all times of public pressure and distress the Sibylline books were consulted for the adoption of those special expiations which the old priestly ceremonial did not include.

These books were so-called from one of the many Sibyls (prophetesses) of antiquity. They were kept secret as books of destiny, the preservation and consultation of which were committed to a college of fifteen priests (*XV-viri sacris faciundis*). The way in which Tarquinius came into possession of them is the subject of a curious legend. A strange old woman came to him—held to be that Sibylla of Cumæ, in Lower Italy, celebrated by Virgil in the *Æneid*—and offered him nine books of oracles for three hundred pieces of gold. This price the king declined. Three of the books she then burned; offering the remainder for the same price. This caused her to be reckoned mad. Thereupon she delivered three more to the flames, and quietly asked the king whether he was willing to give the original sum for the remaining three. Astonished at the obstinacy and assurance of the woman, the king asked of his seers what he should do, and these declared that he had scorned a gift sent of the gods, and that his not having bought all the books was an irreparable loss. He accepted the remainder, with the woman's urgent injunction to preserve them carefully; she thereupon vanished. Apart

from legend, however, these books were the means of introducing the Romans to a closer knowledge of Greek religion. New gods were added, such as Apollo, Pluto (or Dis), Mercury, Neptune, Vulcan, Æsculapius, Diana, Latona, Ceres, Proserpine, Cybele, or Mater Magna, and Venus. The worship of Mars, Saturn, and Hercules was transformed according to the Greek rite. Statues of these gods were placed in the Capitoline Temple, executed in marble, and with a taste growing ever more polished through the influence of Greek models. It may be added that the original books were burnt, but replaced and committed to the Temple of Apollo.

A peculiar modification of Roman worship was also brought from Greece, the *Lectisternium*. On occasion of solemn sacrifice the statue of the god was placed on a couch (*lectus* or *pulvinar*), with a table placed before it covered with food, in order that the deity might partake of the offering. This distinction, however, was conferred only on the more eminent gods; and always two were placed together, a male and female, thus gradually introducing the Greek system of twelve deities: Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, Mercury and Ceres. These twelve chief Olympic divinities, called the *Consentes*, with some others selected from the residue, such as Janus, Saturn, Rhea, Pluto, Bacchus, Sol, and Luna, were called *Dii majorum gentium*, as distinguished from the mass of the *Dii minorum gentium*, the best known of whom were Æolus, Plutus, Somnus, Mors, Triton, Nereus, Pan, Faunus, Fortuna, Themis, Nemesis, the *Parcæ*, the Muses, and so forth. All these were from Greece, their names being simply Latinised; and thus the Roman religion became almost entirely a creation of heathen Greece, even as it afterwards succumbed to Greece Christian. With the *Lectisternium* was closely connected the great national Supplication, taught by the Sibylline books as essential in all times of distress. These great days of national humiliation were afterwards the most remarkable feature of the Roman religion.

The *Sacrum Populare*, or public religious ceremonial in which all classes participated, was a very imposing scene, and a remarkable combination of the noblest and the most degraded exhibitions of the religious instinct of mankind. At times of great danger—when the three grim terrors of



destiny, war, and pestilence and famine, tried the endurance even of the Romans to the utmost—it was customary for the emperor to summon the people to visit all the temples with their prayers of deprecation. Those three calamities were once united in the days of Marcus Aurelius, and a nine-days' fast of devotion was ordained. The number of days was not fixed by any rule; it varied from one day to fifty. On the first day of the solemnity there was a procession, such as no other land ever witnessed: old and young, men and women, freeborn and freedmen, citizens and countrymen, blended in equality. The stately and gloomy procession started from the temple of Apollo on the western side of the Capitol: Apollo was indeed unknown to the earlier Romans, but the Sibylline books had given him a position which made ample compensation for earlier neglect. It passed on to the Forum, and finally to the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine. Three choirs of nine virgins each sang a hymn to this goddess, whose statue was brought up behind them. The XVviri followed, crowned with laurel, and clothed in the *toga prætexta*. Then came the miscellaneous multitude, generally crowned with laurel, or at least with a twig of it in their hands; the women, however, with dishevelled hair, barefoot, and in ungirt garments. Having reached the Forum, the procession halted; the virgins, having a rope passing through their hands in common, executed a peculiarly graceful dance, keeping time to their chant. When the procession went on again and reached the temple of Juno, the XVviri uttered the solemn formula of obsecration before the multitude, which, mostly kneeling, uttered it after them. Two white cows were offered; the statues were placed in the temple, and the enormous multitude dispersed in order to offer their various private devotions in the several temples which all on this occasion were thrown open, presenting their sacrifices, the wine and incense of which were provided at the cost of the State. At this point we shall give an extract, which will show the elaborate diligence of the author, and illustrate the great advantage of his work to the student, every statement being confirmed by due references. It will also suggest a remarkable parallel with later times, which indeed is one main reason for quoting it.

“The common procedure at a *Sacrum Populare* was as follows:—After bathing in running water, and pulling on clean, freshly washed

and white garments, and crowning himself, the worshipper dipped his hands yet again in the water-vessels found at the entrance of every temple, and entered the precincts with lowered head and reverent silence: the silence was imposed upon all after the cry of the herald, *Favete linguis*, or Guard your tongues! in order that the ceremonial might not suffer any such interruption as would involve the necessity of a special atonement, *piaculare*. The more devout fall down even outside the temple, kiss its threshold, and move along on their knees to the image of the god, upon whose countenance, and hands and feet they lavish kisses. The sacrifice, which commences to the sound of the flute, must be in everything pure; the vessels, as well as the animals, must be spotless, sound, and fat, and therefore are strictly tested before the altar. The victims for sacrifice, male for the gods, and female for the goddesses, are divided into two kinds: the greater (*victimæ*), that is, cattle; and less (*lactentes* or *hostiæ*), that is, sheep usually, or sometimes calves, goats, and swine. The cultus of every god prescribes accurately for the selection of the offerings; the ritual books of the Pontifices regulate every usage; and all prescriptions must be most accurately observed. Prayer precedes every sacrifice, uttered by the priest, and repeated by the sacrificer. No prayer, however, was offered in the Romish rite with covered head; the toga is drawn over the head as a veil, that nothing may be presented to the eye which might disturb devotion. Our Greek rite, on the contrary, appoints prayer with uncovered head, and standing throughout the ceremony, with hands uplifted to heaven, and eyes fixed on the east and the altar and image of the divinity, which is always in the eastern part of the temple; sometimes, however, kneeling and embracing the altar bedecked with garlands and wreaths, and bound round with bandages of wool. When prayer is ended, the victim, crowned and adorned, is led by the Popa, or slayer of the sacrifice, himself crowned with laurels, naked to the shoulders and breast, and arrayed only in a purple garment, to the altar of incense with a slack rope. At this altar, festally adorned, the victim is consecrated: that is, the priest anoints its head with a mixture of spring water and wine, offering some wine to the offerer (*libatio*); sprinkles its forehead with the meal and salt (*mola salsa*), cuts off a little of the hair of the forehead, and throws it into the altar flame. He now declares it, drawing the sacrificial knife swiftly from the forehead downwards, to be consecrated, by the words *Macla est*; whereupon the Popa comes forward and cries *Agone?* and, receiving the answer *Hoc age!* fells the animal with a blow, which is followed by the cutting of the throat. The blood is received in basins, and, mixed with wine and meal, poured out upon and around the altar, on which already the burning incense has overspread its vapour. The victim is now placed on the sacrificial table, suffused with wine and incense, cut up by the *cultrarius*, and the entrails, especially

the liver, heart, and lungs, carefully taken out with long knives (*secespitæ*), as it is forbidden to touch them with the fingers. Then all is inspected by the haruspices or extispices, to ascertain whether healthy or free from flaw; for, if this is not the case, another victim (*succedanea hostia*) must be brought. For this emergency, a second, third, sometimes a fourth was required to be ready. In case, however, there was no such reserve—as when animals were scarce, or the offerer poor—there was another expedient. The gods might be supposed to take the will for the deed, the appearance for the reality; the offerer buys of the *fictores*, or bakers, figure made of dough or wax, and presents it. During the testing of the entrails, there was a second libation and more incense, and the burning on the altar of the sacrificial *liba*, or food, or *ferctum*. If the entrails are pronounced pure, they are laid in baskets, and meal and wine and incense are poured over them; they are carried three times round the altar by the priests, and then burnt upon it, whilst the gods are invited to a gracious acceptance of the sacrifice. If the smoke and fat vapours ascend peacefully and straight upwards, the sacrifice is regarded as one acceptable to the divinity.

“Then follows the solemn adoration. That is, the priest goes round the altar with hands uplifted to heaven, throwing kisses meanwhile to the figure of the divinity. He praises the gods, invoking their help; always Janus first, then the divinities to whom the sacrifice is specially brought, and lastly Vesta. He then turns round to the right; and, bending to those present, lays the forefinger of his right hand on his mouth, and takes his seat. The sacrifice is thus declared to be over, and the congregation, after one more libation, are dismissed with the customary *Ilicet*, or Depart. But usually after the sacrifice there is a sacrificial feast, at which the priest, with the offerers of the sacrifices, on private occasions, and their families and invited friends, partake. At such times all the sacrificial meat is consumed, which otherwise belongs to the priest and the offerers. This is generally the course with bloody offerings; but in other respects, and in individual details, there are many differences to be noted between private and public sacrifices, and among the latter themselves.

“The chief public sacrifice is the Hecatomb: that is, a sacrifice of a hundred cattle or smaller animals, such as sheep and swine, on an equal number of altars built of rasin. Differences may be observed between the sacrifices presented to the higher gods, and those presented to the lower gods, that is, the divinities of the underworld, such as Pluto and Proserpine. For the former the offerers must have washed in running water, for the latter a sprinkling is enough; for the former white garments are demanded, for the latter dark, even as the respective victims must be of colours similarly diversified, punctiliousness on this point being carried so far that a dark spot must be obliterated by a white. For the upper

gods the animals are felled by a blow from above, for the lower from below; in the former case the blood is sprinkled on the altar, in the latter poured into a pit; in the former the entrails are burnt, in the latter the whole animal, because it is forbidden to taste of anything devoted to the underworld; in the former prayer is made with uplifted hands, in the latter with hands depressed and feet beating the ground; finally, in the former case the vessel of the libation is held in the open hand, in the latter the vessel is turned to the left and thrown into the altar-flame."

But with the remainder of the description we must deal more summarily. Many simpler and unbloody oblations were brought on such occasions: wine, milk, honey, incense, fruits, and cakes; the incense being presented by the rich in heaps, by the poor in solitary grains, thrown into the fire in both cases by three darts of the finger. Such oblations were brought especially by the people of the country, and to an altar erected in the open air. But, after all, the bloody sacrifices were predominant as it were by an eternal instinct to which the Romans were never strangers, but which the Greeks had been the instrument of more expressly evoking.

It remains to distinguish two classes of sacrifice: the *Sacra Publica*, ordained by the State for State exigency, and at the public cost; and *Sacra Privata*, offered by individuals and families at their private cost, though still under the supervision of the State, and of course less stately, though adopting generally the same rite. The private sacrifices were distributed into three classes: first, those which were presented by private individuals; then family oblations, which the *paterfamilias*, in the name of the persons of one household, presented to its tutelary divinities, the *Lares*, *Penates*, and *Genii*; lastly, the gentile offerings, which were presented for an entire gens, embracing many families, by a *flamen* or priest selected from their number, in his own chapel or *sacellum*, to its tutelary deity, which took a cognomen from it; for example, *Hercules Julianus*, *Diana Valeriana*, *Fortuna Flavia*, and so forth. There were, however, some *Sacra Gentilicia* which the State committed to certain gens, and which therefore formed a kind of transition to the first class, or the *Sacris Publicis*. Rather, these were public sacrifices, in which the administration of the solemnities was entrusted, not so much to a single gens, but to a fraternity including strangers (*sodalitium* or *collegium*): this was

specially the case in the introduction of any new cult, in which the first members of the community were usually strangers or foreigners who brought the cult to Rome with them.

This naturally leads back to the historical view of the changes introduced into Roman religion by intercourse with other nations besides the Greeks. When the East was subjugated the Romans were in a remarkable manner fascinated by the mystical and theosophic ideas of the conquered nations. Just at the time when it had begun to have faith in its own ancient divinities, and the later Greek ceremonial had begun to lose its attraction, the Oriental revolution was introduced, thus, as we doubt not, paving the way for Christianity, the best of all Oriental mysticism. Egypt, as of old, exerted its influence. The Egyptian divinities, especially Isis, swayed the minds of the people, especially the women. The mysteries of this worship were gross, and the State at first condemned it, even destroying those chapels of Isis which had become the secret shrines of lust. In vain, however; for private chapels were everywhere built, and after Otho and Domitian even public temples at the public expense. This Egyptian worship overspread the country. Apart from its foreign and unholy ceremonial, there was something in it that strangely appealed to the mystical feeling after Divine things in man. It drew many by the pretence of gratifying the desire to know God and the principles of gnosis: even Aurelius himself was not proof against the fascination. Besides Isis, the Syrian goddess, and Mithras of the Persians, forced an entrance, and originated a very earnest ceremonial. It may be said of all these Oriental forms of worship which were naturalised in Rome that, notwithstanding their offensiveness in many respects, they rested upon a monotheistic foundation, invited to a clearer and better view of the Divine nature, and, by the enforcement of penitence and moral purification, accomplished more in the minds of those who escaped the concomitant pollutions than the Greek worship had accomplished. But, as it regards the generality of the people, the effect of this wholesale and most heterogeneous congregation of faiths and worships was such as to lead to a total disregard and contempt of religion in every form.

The holy places of the Romans next claim attention. At first, before statues of the gods were formed, offerings were

presented in the open air, in high places, in groves or under individual trees. The buildings which gradually were constructed were first very simple, of wood or reeds, and covered with straw. By degrees stone was substituted: the place where the image of the god stood being covered in, and the forecourt exposed and supported by pillars. In time only the finest marble was used; sculpture and painting contributed their decoration; and the temples became the finest buildings in the city. As the gods multiplied their dwellings increased, until they were to be seen in all parts, and on the Capitol and Forum literally adjoined each other. Choice was made of each divinity of spots most suitable for his special worship. Hence Mercury, as the god of traffic, had his temples near the market-places; Apollo and Bacchus, in the neighbourhood of theatres; Hercules, near the gymnasium and circus; Isis and Serapis, by harbour and landing-places; Mars, by military exercise grounds. Originally, the temples of Mars, Vulcan, Venus, and Ceres were built only outside of the city: those of Vulcan to save them from fire, those of Venus to conceal from youth their profligacy, those of Ceres because her secret service required retired places. For Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the three protecting divinities of the city, the most prominent places were chosen, from which the whole population might be overlooked. The characteristics of the gods worshipped were more or less consulted in the style of the architecture. For instance, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles were much affected. The first was thought to be fitted, by its severe and simple character, for the worship of Minerva, Mars, and Hercules; the last, by its beauty and grace, for Venus, Flora, Proserpine, and the Nymphs; while the Ionic style, as intermediate, was reserved for Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Bacchus, and the remaining gods. Hence, again, the temples of Jupiter, the god of thunder, of the Sun-god and of the Moon-goddess, were open in the interior, that the heavens might be seen by the worshipper. As it regards amplitude, there were three classes: there were the vast and magnificent (*templa proper*), the smaller and simpler (*ædes*), and mere chapels (*sacella* or *ædiculæ*). As to the form, this was twofold, angular and round. Instead of following our author in his elaborate account of all the varieties of templar building, in which the Romans surpassed every other nation of all ages, we will give his description in full of a temple that



has a peculiar Christian interest : the temple which Vespasian erected to commemorate the downfall of Jerusalem, and dedicated to Peace.

"We have already seen at a distance the mighty, beautifully proportioned, and pillared building. We now enter the spacious forecourt (*peribolos*), five hundred Roman paces in circumference, surrounded by a wall, and adorned with a multitude of statues. Our attention is riveted by an unexpected multitude of bronze and marble statues, mostly devout gifts, though many of them came from the gorgeous palace of Nero, which Vespasian had almost entirely abolished. We then direct our glance to the pediment or gable, the height of which is about the ninth part of its breadth, surmounted at both corners by statues, that of *Victoria* being in the middle. The chief charm, however, is the field of the pediment, which exhibits the combat of the *Centaur*s and *Lapithæ* in *Parian* marble of beautiful workmanship. Ascending the five steps of polished granite, we are astonished to see a gallery of statues surrounding the whole temple, which, in two rows behind each other, contains not less than six-and-twenty *Corinthian* statues of marble, forty feet high, and four feet in diameter, the dazzling whiteness of which stands out in beautiful relief against the grey-blue colour of the *Hymettic* marble of the walls. The temple is thus a *Dipterus*, whose front shows sixteen, or twice eight, figures on both ends ; while, on each side, including the statues at the corners, there are twice fifteen. [Every variety of scene is depicted around, the details of which must be spared.] In awe and wonder we enter through the ever-open into the interior of the sanctuary, the door of which demands and repays attention. This is twice as high as broad. Its threshold is of brass, but its plates are of the same marble as the sanctuary, and it is full of scenes of Roman history. The sanctuary is two hundred feet long and one hundred broad ; and there reigns in it a gracious obscurity highly favourable to religious effect. There are no windows, of course ; all the light enters through the opened gate, or through a subtle lattice work, and is just sufficient to exhibit the statuary and paintings, the altar and the statue of the divinity. . . . The pavement of the place is of beautiful mosaic, with a border of flowers ; and the plain roof of cedar-wood reveals the most beautiful carving in the world. At the further wall stands, opposite the entrance door, the four-cornered altar of yellow *Numidian* marble, and behind it, on a basis, the statue of the goddess of Peace, executed by a master hand : a youthful form with a wreath of corn on the beautiful head, a horn of plenty and an olive branch in the hands. Its height, including the pedestal, may be about twenty feet, which helps to appreciate the height of the whole temple, say about fifty feet. The statue

of the god to whom the temple is consecrated, and which, facing the west, is mostly standing, but sometimes sitting, is naturally the chief ornament of the sanctuary. Executed with the utmost art, it is protected by a curtain from the weather and from all defilement. Besides it, however, our Temple of Peace has around the walls twelve others, beautifully wrought, but surpassing the height of a man by only two feet; statues of Jupiter and Themis as the parents, Eunomia and Dike as the sisters, of Peace, besides some others. In short, the temple is so full of beauty, that one cannot tell what to contemplate first; and almost dazzled by so much magnificence, we leave the temple which may vie with the grandest buildings of Greece. Finally, there is another building connected with it, wherein many most costly gifts are preserved, especially the memorable Jewish treasures, and a library of great value."

The number and variety of holy persons and ministering priests in the religion of ancient Rome was without parallel; the Jewish institution was in comparison simplicity itself. Obviously the reason of this was the number of the gods, and of the temples dedicated to their service; as also the remarkable care taken to keep the cult of every deity distinct from that of others. Numa may be regarded as the founder of the whole system; and from his time there had been eight classes of ministers of religion:—the Curiones, Flamens, the Tribunus Celerum, the Augures, the Vestals, Salii, Fetiales and Pontifices. To these were afterwards added the Luperci, Arvales and Sodales Titii; and still later the XV. sacris faciundis and the VIIviri epulones. A distribution of these which should suit the time of the Antonine period would be threefold. First, the great colleges pertaining to the state; the Pontifices, as priests of the original Latin gods and the Roman rite; the XVviri, as priests of foreign gods and the Greek rite; and the Augurs, as priests of Roman divination or prophecy. Secondly, the priests of the *Sacra popularia*, among whom the Curiones were the most ancient and distinguished. Thirdly, the priests devoted to the Gentile cults, the *Sodalitates*, among whom the *Sodales Augustales*, as priests consecrated to the services of deified emperors, took the highest place. The privileges of these orders were great. They wore the *toga prætexta*, and had high social prerogatives and exemptions. Originally the priests were of ripe age, noble birth, and good life, sound in health, and without any other occupation; but such restrictions were gradually relaxed.

The Pontifex maximus was from the establishment of the Republic the head of the first college; the office was connected with the royal, and afterwards with the imperial function. It was an office of vast responsibility, having almost uncontrolled power over the lower priests and vestals of the college. Under him, and appointed by him, was a remarkable functionary, the Rex sacrorum, whose wife was Regina sacrorum; having the charge of many sacrifices, especially of one in February commemorating the expulsion of the kings. The Flamens were simply the sacrificing priests of particular gods, derived their name from *Filum*, the woollen thread of their head-dress—*filamines*. At the period we refer to there were only three:—the Flamens of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. The first, or Flamen *Dialis*, was a personage more hemmed in by restrictions than any other. His whole family was set apart to Jupiter; he could remove out of his house only twice in the year, and by permission of the Pontifex Maximus, never being longer than one or two nights absent; his whole life was guarded by a most peculiar superstition; and he was always in full official dignity. His wife, the *Flaminica*, was consecrated to Juno, and she, like her husband, was bound by an infinite variety of petty ordinances. The Flamens of Mars and Quirinus were not such important personages, save on some days of special significance in the service of their respective gods. The College of *Epulones*, composed of seven, had to do originally with the arrangement of the sacrificial feast of Jupiter, and subsequently had all kinds of religious festivity under their charge; they were of somewhat inferior rank, but constantly employed and very popular. The institution of the College of the *Fetiales* was very ancient; it had to do with the sanctities of international covenants, embassies, and wars. The *Fratres Arvales* guarded the religion of the fields; and the institution, of very early origin, had a most interesting year's work to do. Among the *Curiones* or *Sodalitates*, the confraternities of priests dedicated to the religious services of the Tribes and *Curiae*, the *Sodales Augustales* deserve special mention. They originated in the deification of the emperors. After the death of Augustus, the Senate decreed him a temple, with a college of priests for his service. One-and-twenty members belonged to it still in the present period, chosen by lot from the chief men of the State. After the model of this institute,

similar sodalities were established for the honour of emperors more recently deified: *Sodales Titiales*, *Hadrianales*, *Antoniniani*, and, at the period dating our description, *Veriani*. Each deified emperor had his special *Flamen*. The armed and dancing College of *Salii* were the merriest of the priesthood; enlivening the spring of the year with festivities that commemorated the deliverance of Italy from a plague in the days of Numa. The legend runs, that a shield of a peculiar shape fell from heaven, and stayed the plague. That this wonderful pledge of safety might not be stolen, Numa had eleven others made of precisely the same pattern, which were committed to the *Salii* of the Palatine. The College of the *Quindecimviri* guarded the *Sibylline* books, consulted and expounded them. They also took charge of the newly introduced cult of the Greek gods, especially *Apollo*, the *Mater Magna*, and *Ceres*. They had much to do with religious ceremonials outside of Rome. Thus they were keepers of the oracles, which they transcribed and edited with scrupulous care; priests of the Greek services; and general intermediaries between the ceremonial of Rome and that of other lands. Of the *Augurs* we must speak hereafter.

The institution of the *Vestal Virgins* was closely connected with the College of *Pontiffs*, and had its origin with Numa, who appointed four vestals; two having been subsequently added, the number six was definitive. At first patrician, afterwards it was enough that they belonged to free and honourable families, but their parents must be alive and live in Italy. Not less than six years old, and not more than ten, it was necessary that they should be without any corporeal defect. On a vacancy in their number, twenty virgins were brought before the *Pontifex Maximus*, who cast lots. A solemn induction transferred the elected one from her parents to the service of the goddess; placed in the *Antrium Vestæ*, her hair was cut off, and placed on a lotus tree. Thirty years' service was the limit; after which she was exonerated and might marry, though that was seldom the case. During the first ten of the thirty years the vestal learned the mystic service; during the second she practised it; during the third she taught it to others. Dignity went by age; the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima* was honoured almost like the empress. Always devoted to virginity, a breach was punished by entombment alive; no one devoted to the gods being allowed to be put to death.

Suffering the sacred fire to be extinguished was punished by severe castigation at the hands of the Pontifex, or rather his substitute. In compensation of all these sacrifices they enjoyed some high honours; a licitor preceded them when they went out, to whom all, even the consul, gave way. They might make testaments; injury of any kind inflicted on them was punished by death; their company made their companion's person inviolable; and their intercession scarcely ever failed to save from punishment, even availing to relieve a prisoner going to execution whom they accidentally met. They enjoyed much of the confidence of the people, who entrusted them with property and documents to a great extent. Their functions were peculiar. The whole religious cultus of the Romans rested on the basis of family life; and these Vestals were regarded as daughters of the Pontifex Maximus, serving him at the hearth of the State. The most necessary requirements of household life, fire and water, they guarded and hallowed. Watching by turns, they kept the fire eternally on that hearth, once only to be renewed, on the first of March. Its accidental extinction was a prodigy of solemn import; severe punishment followed; and the fire was rekindled by the friction of two sticks. Daily they besprinkled the temple of Vesta with water, drawn from the well of Egeria in pitchers so formed that they could not be laid down. Veiled mysteries they kept in the recesses of the temple—holy objects, especially the Palladium, or pledge of the safety of the State. They daily interceded for the commonwealth. They were clothed in white, and with a diadem on the forehead; at times of sacrifice a long white veil, with purple edges, concealed every vestige of their form.

It will be more interesting to turn to the public and practical uses to which all this ceremonial was put. Religion has its brighter and festal aspect; it has also its darker and more stern aspect. We shall make some observations on both in their order, still keeping very close to Dr. Forbiger as our guide. The Festivals of Ancient Rome may be fitly introduced by a disquisition on the Calendar, which shall be given in our author's own way:—

“The name *Calendarium* (from the word *calare*, to call out) carries us back to the earlier custom of the Romans to summon the people at the beginning of every month, and instruct them by a Pontifex as to the commencement of the month, and the relation of its days. Hence the first day of the month was called *Calendæ*;

the midmost, the fifteenth of March, May, July, and October, the eighteenth of the others, Idus (as it were the divider, from an obsolete *iduo*, to divide); and thence counted back, the ninth was called *Nonæ*: the day from which they counted being reckoned in, this was the seventh in those four months, and the fifth in the others. All intervening days were determined by these, reckoning backwards. In the month of Mars, the sixth day was of course *pridie Nonas* (the day before the Nones); the fifth *tertius* (*ante*) *Nonas*, the fourteenth *pridie Idus*, the thirteenth *tertius* (*ante*) *Idus*, of the same month; while the thirty-first day was *pridie Calendas*, the thirtieth *tertius* (*ante*) *Calendas* of the month following. On the other hand, January the fourth was *pridie Nonas*, the third *tertius* *Nonas*, the twelfth *pridie Idus*, the thirty-first *pridie Cal. Feb.*, the thirtieth *pridie Cal. Feb.* Hence it will be seen that the construction of the calendar, which originally was kept secret by the Pontifices, but after 450 published, was no easy matter. It must be remembered that it included what were feast days, what half feastdays, what were religious days, and what black days, commemorating disasters, and so forth. They undertook to announce also the astronomical demarcations of the year; the course of the sun and moon, with eclipses; and finally, the calendar was a perfect and exact announcement of all greater and smaller feasts, and religious celebrations which fell upon different days."

The Festival of the New Year was a very joyous one. After innumerable visitations, which made the streets more lovely than at any other time, and mutual gifts, the people repaired to the house of the new Consuls. A triumphal procession to the temple of Jupiter, and the great sacrifice before described, followed by the taking of oaths on the part of the officials and the never-failing feast at the close. Passing over the second, as an unpropitious day, the third and fourth were kept up also with special festivities. The *Lupercalia* of 15th February was a festival of atonement and purification, celebrated on the *Lupercal*, a grotto of the Palatine. It was a very strange ceremonial, and very exciting to the female part of the community.

"A strange usage follows which has induced many to maintain that it was substituted for an ancient human sacrifice that was connected with the *Lupercalia*, which, however, was rather a symbolical indication of purification from sins. Two young men of noble birth were brought forward, whose foreheads were touched by a knife dripping with the blood of the slaughtered goats; a piece of wool dipped in milk removed the stain; after which



transaction it was then only to burst out into cheerful laughter. Then followed the feast and the frantic merriment of the people. The skins of the slain goats were cut into stripes (*februa*, whence *dies februatus* and the month *Februarius*, or the month of purification, *februa* meaning to purify), which the *Luperci* used as scourges, driving before them all the people, and with indecent figure and songs pursuing the women, who deem this kind of excitement the sure means of fruitfulness and easy child-bearing. The feast, however, was said to have been instituted by *Romulus* in memorial of the fidelity of the Sabine women. But this is enough to depict a feast which was full of joy, and sometimes degenerated into gross folly."

The first of March was a day of great importance; it was formerly the beginning of the year, and latterly remarkable for the festival of the *Matrons*, who interchanged presents with their husbands, offered sacrifices to *Juno Lucina*, and observed other ceremonials, among which at the feasts the mistresses served the female servants, and the masters the male at the feast of the *Saturnalia*. Between the 19th and the 23rd March, the *Quinquatrus* was held, a festival which was held in honour of *Minerva*, and embraced the school children and artisans of almost all classes. This was a merry feast, delighted in by the young people, who brought their school-pence to their masters (*Minerval*), who gave part to the goddess. The feast-day was dedicated to the birthday of the goddess, that is to commemorate the consecration of her first temple in Rome on the *Aventine*. The fifth day closed the feast with a *Tubilustrium*, or procession of music and trumpets, with the offering of a lamb. This feast was kept in the households with great joy, and a slighter reflection of it, the *Quinquatrus minuscule*, was again celebrated in July.

Immediately afterwards began the fast of the *Mater Magna*, one of the orgies brought from Greece,—*Cybele*, the *Phrygian* goddess, the Roman *Ops*. Originally confined to foreigners, and interdicted to the natives, this festivity was afterwards made popular, and its mad extravagances in the East were almost equalled in Rome. It was followed by the festival of *Flora*, the abominations of which cannot be described. Its last day was that of the *Bacchanalia*, imported from Greece, and simply a religious cloak for the most unbridled sensuality. It lay under an interdict of the State from the times of the Republic downwards. Intermediate between these two deplorable public

weeks of abandonment, there was a more innocent pastoral feast on 21st April, celebrated for the plentiful increase of the flocks. The feast of Arvalia was a tumultuous but not indecent festival, which lasted for three days. It is refreshing to turn from these extravagant feasts, which, all of them, more or less, tended to the relaxation of morals, to the decent festivities of the Vestalia, which began on the 9th of June, just a month after the same celebrants had been guilty of the wildest excesses. In commemoration of Vesta, as the patroness of household piety, every family held a frugal feast, presenting gifts, and entering, men included, the penetralia, or at least beholding them more nearly than usual. The altar with the eternal fire, symbol of the goddess who had no image, and all things pertaining to the divinity, were purified and reconsecrated.

Passing by the public plays, the *Ludi Apollinares* and the *Ludi Romani*, in July and September, with their courses and gladiatorial combats, we must mention the peculiarly Roman *Saturnalia* towards the end of the year. It was instituted very early in honour of Saturn and the golden age of unrestricted freedom and pleasure. It was a base caricature of the year of Jubilee in a holier land. For a whole week all public and private business was suspended, schools were closed, the slaves enjoyed an illusory freedom, the prisoners had their fetters removed and dedicated to Saturn. But the frightful excesses which prevailed were such as to drive from the city quiet and studious people. On the eve of the festival crowds issued with torches to the cry, "*Io Saturnalia! Bona Saturnalia!*" and the night set in with revelry, to be followed by worse excesses on the morrow. Religious services were united with abominable debaucheries in a combination too horrible to be dwelt upon. The festival of the goddess *Bellona*, brought from *Cappadocia*, was more fanatical than licentious. The service of *Mithras*, the Persian Sun-god, had been brought from the East, and was popular in the time of the Antonines. We must give the writer's reflections here:—

"The present emperor is not disinclined to it. This will not be wondered at when we remember that the cult of the Sun-god was purer and more dignified than any other Oriental ceremonial, having nothing in common with the fanatical service of *Cybele* and the Syrian goddess, but rather a certain similarity with the

purser and more rational religious system of the Christians; so that I do not hesitate to regard it as favoured by the court, in order to supply thoughtful Romans with a compensation or substitute for Christianity everywhere spreading more and more, and the danger of which to the polytheistic State was an object of fear to the emperor. In the blood-baptism of the Mithras service there was a certain similarity to the Christian water-baptism, while the sacrifice connected with it retained its harmony with the State religion. The proceeding is as follows:—After forty days' fasting, two days' scourging, and twenty-eight days' other penitential discipline, the consecration took place. The candidate for initiation was thrust into a pit, after being clothed in a peculiar toga and crowned with a Persian mitre. Over the pit, which was covered with a grating, a bullock was slaughtered, whose blood fell upon the neophyte, who in due time comes back to the living purified, regenerate, and consecrated to the Mithras service."

The ascetic rigour of this service must have had charms for the Antonine emperors; but the analogy with Christianity is a very dim one, however interesting. The worship of Isis was equally mysterious, but more fascinating to the people. Once more we must give Dr. Forbiger's vivid picture, though in abridgment:—

"It was announced in the *Actis Diurnis* that a ship, restored from shipwreck, was to be consecrated to Isis, as the protectress of navigation. A procession to the Tiber was formed, and it sufficed to bring half Rome to the scene. I myself started at dawn to the Isis temple near the Pantheon, whence the procession would set forth. I found the crowds around the gates; but the temple itself, before which from early morning devout women, in white garments and with dishevelled hair, are wont to wait, still closed: it is the peculiarity of this temple to be more formally opened and shut than any other. The door opened, the white curtains which conceal the entrance were withdrawn, disclosing two Sphinxes. The number of the faithful who now streamed in, men and women of every age and condition, and belonging to all nations represented in Rome, showed how widely spread was this mysterious cult, especially among women of the higher class. Hence I could not wonder to see many illustrious persons among the initiated: for instance, the Platonic Appuleius. Now pass the priests from one altar in the inner court to another, casting incense into the flames of the seven or eight altars, and pouring out water instead of wine as libation, wine being forbidden in Egyptian worship. This water came from the Nile, and is preserved in the temple; being celebrated here, as over the world, for many qualities. The assembled congregation then begin to sing to the goddess a morning song, intoned by a precentor, naked to

the breast. The chief priest, or prophet, accompanied by another priest and a priestess, came forward to the steps leading up to the temple, and announced with loud voice that the goddess had arisen and accepted the song; whereupon he solemnly lifted up the urn filled with Nile water to the worship of the congregation, and made the Isis sistra resound. This noise dying away, the murmurs of common prayer were heard, with which this daily morning service ends, to be followed by another, similar, in the evening. It must be added that the prophet, holy as he is, did not venture to touch with his hands the sacred pitcher, but wrapped his arms and hands in his vestments, because the initiated think they behold in the Nile water contained in the pitcher an incorporation of Osiris himself, the father of the living and the dead, without whom Isis can never be duly honoured. . . . After beholding from a window many mummeries, the procession proper began. First came a number of women and maidens in dazzling white garments, which set off remarkably the dark skin of the Egyptian women, strewing the way with flowers showered from their heads. They performed with sacred combs and before mirrors the toilet in the service of the goddess, sprinkling the crowds with richly-scented essences. Then followed a multitude of people of both sexes, and all conditions, bearing torches and lamps; and then a choir of chosen youths, in snow-white garments, who sang, to the accompaniment of flutes and other instruments, a song prepared for this occasion. Now sounded out the heralds: Place, place for the holy celebrants! and then came at length the long procession of the initiated, and the priests and the priestesses of Isis. All were barefoot, and to the minutest parts of dress in dazzling white. The priests bore the symbols of the mighty gods. In the hand of the first shone a bright lamp of gold, in the form of a throat, in the midst of which a wide flame burst through an opening. The second bore in his two hands small altars; the third a golden palm-branch and a serpent staff. A fourth held forth, as the symbol of temperance and righteousness, an open left hand with outstretched fingers, whilst in the other he carried a golden vessel which had the form of a female bosom, and from which milk issued as a libation. In the hands of the last shone the *vannus mystica* and the silver pitcher of the holy Nile water. Immediately afterwards came the images of the gods themselves. First Anubis, with long-necked dog's head, whose countenance appeared partly black and partly golden, swinging in the left hand a staff of Mercury, and in the right a green palm branch. Then, as an incorporation of the all-bearing Isis, a cow in an erect position, which a priest bore on his shoulders. Another priest followed with the mystical chest, which concealed the holy things of the mysterious cult; and, finally, the high priest himself came forward, bearing on his

breast the most important and the most sacred treasure of the temple, which, as I was told, was at the same time a symbol under which Isis or Osiris is worshipped. It consisted of a tolerably large and artfully wrought urn of gold, with round basis, and covered all over with hieroglyphics. Its short neck was wreathed by a serpent, whose head and neck rose above the mystic urn. A multitude of ministrants followed, and the swelling crowd brought up the rear, hastening to see the ship receive its visitors. I returned to my house, and heard subsequently from one of my secretaries, a born Egyptian, how the rest proceeded. Arriving, after four hours, at the haven of Augustus, in Ostia, the images of the gods were laid out in order; a solemn prayer was offered by the high priest; the ship, adorned in every part with citron wood carving and Egyptian painting, was anointed with a lighted compound of eggs and sulphur, and dedicated to Isis. After the whole ship was filled with rich gifts and offerings expiatory, the anchor was raised. The return procession was equally imposing, and was followed by a solemn invocation of blessing on the ship and on all connected with it, delivered in the temple, after the customary prayers for the emperor, senate, knights, and all the people. The assembly was dismissed, after having, amidst loud farewells, deposited their gifts and kissed the feet of the silver image of the goddess, and sung a soft song to lull her to rest again."

Many agricultural feasts must be passed over. But there was one festival of a very solemn character, not limited to any particular time, but dependent on the return of the anniversary of death in the family. These were called *Parentalia*, and consisted of offerings brought to the manes of the departed—water, wine, warm milk, honey, oil, and blood of sacrificed black sheep, and swine, and cattle were poured on the grass; unguents and incense were offered, and the graves were adorned with garlands and flowers; lamps were afresh kindled in the vaults; a specially arranged feast was laid out for the manes, which, as in the case of every Roman religious festival whatever, was also partaken of by the family surviving.

Finally, the games or *Ludi* must be included, as having some religious significance among the Romans. But enough, however, for our present purpose; and, therefore, the circensian, gladiatorial, and theatrical exhibitions must be omitted. But the *Ludi Sæculares*, as an institution peculiar to the Romans and eminently religious, may have some notice.

"The secular games, or *Ludi Tercentini*, I have not lived to see, nor shall I, since they, as the Jubilee of the State, occur only once in a hundred years, and had been celebrated under Antoninus Pius twenty years ago. I can now only, therefore, describe this festival, which sprang from Etruria, and now is the centennial commemoration of the founding of Rome. It was the festival of the commencement of a new century, even as the first festival I mentioned began the new year. Heralds announce at the harvest time the coming feast, which no living man had seen, and none would see a second time. Then all free citizens (for slaves are excluded) flow to the Capitol and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, where the *XVviri* distribute among the people the expiatory materials and offerings. Then the feast itself begins, which lasts three days and three nights, and Jupiter and Juno, Apollo, Latona and Diana, the Fates, Tellus, Pluto and Proserpine receive their sacrifices. On the first day a white bullock and cow is sacrificed to Jupiter and Juno on the Capitol, and the grand games go on from that time. By day the finest exhibitions of prowess; by night theatrical exhibitions in honour of Apollo. On the first night the emperor himself presents, on the Tarentum beyond the Tiber, three special sacrifices to the three altars of the Fates; and the people, by torchlight, sing a hymn for the occasion. On the second day the matrons pray to Juno; and in the evening black victims are sacrificed to Tellus, and Pluto, and Proserpine. On the third day the *Carmen Sæculare* is sung in the temple of the Palatine Apollo by a choir of seven-and-twenty boys and as many girls; sung both in Greek and Latin. White oxen are sacrificed as the sacred religious conclusion. That *Carmen Sæculare*, which the celebrated poet, Horatius Flaccus, composed on occasion of the Secular Games under Augustus, has obtained universal fame."

It is obvious from this slight sketch that the whole life of the ancient Romans, both before and after the coming of Christ, was measured off by religious feasts and solemnities which had a cheerful character, though always connected with propitiation of the wrath of the gods. It is plain also that their religion, such as it was, pervaded every department of private and public affairs, and impressed its influence upon every movement of life. But two other things are observable. First, that there was no practical and efficacious faith in the deities propitiated and served: the religion of Rome gave no peace to the conscience. Secondly, it did not elevate the morals of the people: on the contrary, with but few exceptions, and those exceptions were imported from Egypt and the East,



the most sacred ceremonials were defiled by excesses and abominations, such as made the word religion hateful to the philosopher.

Let us now turn to the other side of the picture, the superstition of the Romans. As some of the strongest and largest animals are the most nervous and timid, so the mightiest nation that ever swayed the world was the most entirely abandoned to the terrors of the other world, and to the more depressing influences of the religious sentiment. Religion was more distorted among the Romans than among any other people who have perverted the primitive instincts of humanity and the primitive traditions of mankind.

Divination was among them the miserable perversion of communion with the Deity, as taught in the Books of Revelation. It was divided into two parts. *Haruspicina*, the consultation of the entrails of dead sacrifices; and *Auspicious*, the observation of the flight of birds and their peculiar cries. The will of the gods was supposed to be indicated by the intestines of the sacrifices. How could any intelligent mind be brought to suppose that the Deity would designedly give to animals an abnormal interior, and cause them to be chosen for sacrifice, in order to reveal His mind to man, instead of directly impressing His will upon the devout and prepared minds of His worshippers, and inspire them, if it pleased Him, with a clear view of present duty and of future hope! These Etruscan *Haruspices*, however, had long declined in importance. The genuine Roman augurs never lost their power. The observation of the heavens, and the flight and cries of birds, was the means of ascertaining, not the future, but the present will of the gods with regard to any course of action. There was much in the system of the augurs that was hidden. Originally there were five classes of signs and their interpretation; but these were reduced to two; signs on heaven (*ex cœlo*), which were the most important, and from the feeding of birds (*ex tripudio*). As to the former, the augur searched the heavens very much as the modern astronomer searched it, and with much of the same appliances. The infinite variety of interpretations of the infinite variety of appearances, of course, removed all certainty from the science; it was altogether matter of the augur's own determination and cunning. The same may be said of the wretched system of interpreting heaven by the flight of birds.

There is something very remarkable in the account given

of the function of these interpreters of heaven as Fulguratores; that is, as expiators and exorcists of lightning. This department of religion was formerly part of the work of the Pontifices, but afterwards was left to the Etrurian Haruspices. The Romans held the superstitious notion that every flash which entered the earth must be atoned for and burned like a dead soul, if its evil consequences should be averted. The earth therefore is dug up, a kind of coffin without bottom is interred, and a covering placed over it with the inscription, "*Fulgur conditum*," "lightning buried." But the ceremonials and prayers accompanying cannot be detailed.

Evil forebodings or omens constituted an important element in the Roman perversion of religion. As prodigies were connected with the sight, so omens were connected with the hearing, and were moreover more limited to private life. They had to do, therefore, not so much with fortuitous events, such as the stumbling at the threshold, as with the words fortuitously heard breaking in upon the ordinary current of things. It was, however, for a person to put from him or to accept the omen. He might say, "*omen ad me non pertinet*," or "*accipio omen*:" "the omen does not concern me," or "I accept the omen." The influence of casual words on the current of public and private life would be incredible, were it not that history is full of instances. Allied to this was the superstitious study of dreams and their interpretation. Pages might be filled with the detail of prescriptions for the extracting of good or evil from the tenour of dreams. Suffice to say that one issue of the study was that morning dreams were held to portend truth; ante-midnight dreams, on the contrary, were to be interpreted with more laxity. So much did even this shadowy realm lay hold on the Roman mind, that fearful dreams were appointed to be expiated by sacrifice on the next morning, preceded by a thorough ablution of the person in running waters.

Astrology was much in vogue among the later Romans, as the result of a waning faith in the providence of the gods and a waxing disposition to accept a determinate faith, aided also by a tendency to investigate more and more the forces of nature. It came as an importation with the Greek gods. The consulters of the stars were named Chaldeans, from the people who first brought the science to Rome, and also mathematics. Public edicts long

condemned this craft, and philosophers inveighed against it, but in time the emperors themselves had their Court astrologers. The higher classes held the astrologers in high esteem; the fates of the imperial family being interdicted. There soon entered, however, an inferior tribe of deceivers, who plied their craft in holes and corners first, then in the market-places, and practised precisely those arts which, in later times, fortune-tellers ply in every nation of Europe. Magic also was largely practised; but into this wide domain it is needless to enter at large. To beings partly divine and partly human this power was attributed. Even the gods themselves practised it. Thus Homer makes Venus and Mercury defend themselves by a magic girdle; and Hecate was the divinity of infernal magic and the protectress of magic in general. But the magical use of nature's secrets in the other world we must leave. Descending to men hated and feared, or trusted and sought unto, we have two classes to distinguish. The first was that of the common traffickers in human credulity; the second that of the more philosophical order of magicians. These professed to be workers of miracles, through a more intimate acquaintance with the secrets of nature. So Apollonius of Tyana, and Alexander of Abonoteichos, on a large scale; and multitudes in Rome on a smaller scale, who contrived to obtain much credit among the common people. But the infinite varieties of magical artifice do not belong to our present subject, as not being specifically connected with the religion of Rome.

We have overstepped our limits, and left no space for the reflections which such an exhibition gives rise to. We must leave Dr. Forbiger's labours—a bare epitome of which has been given—to speak for themselves. His own ample pages describe an elaborate religious system that, perhaps, has never had its parallel on this earth; which, however, precisely in proportion to its internal abundance of ceremonial, was deficient in every element of internal truth and power. It is pleasant to think that this amazing system was so soon and so entirely vanquished and swept away by the simple truths of the Gospel. At the same time it is sad to think—it is one of the saddest thoughts that ecclesiastical history suggests—how much of the spirit and fashion of the ancient Roman Heathenism has been retained through successive ages by Christian Rome and its degenerate Christianity.

ART. VI.—*A History of Philosophy, from Thales to the Present Time.* By Dr. FRIEDRICH UEBERWEG, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Königsberg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by GEO. S. MORRIS, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. With Additions by NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row.

"PHILOSOPHY as a conception, historically, is an advance upon, as it is an outgrowth from, the conception of mental development in general, and that of scientific culture in particular. The conception is ordinarily modified in the various systems of philosophy, according to the peculiar character of each; yet in all of them philosophy is included under the generic notion of science, and, as a rule, is distinguished from the remaining sciences by the specific difference, that it is not occupied, like each of them, with any special, limited province of things, nor yet with the sum of these provinces taken in their full extent, but with the nature, laws, and connection of whatever actually is. With this common and fundamental characteristic of the various historical conceptions of philosophy corresponds our definition: Philosophy is the science of principles."

In this opening paragraph Dr. Ueberweg furnishes as comprehensive a definition of the functions of philosophy as could well be compressed into so short a space. As an historian of philosophy he here gives a pledge of impartiality which every subsequent page of the work amply redeems. It is almost inevitable, as he hints, that advocates of any special theory should frame their fundamental definitions in such a way as to conduct those who accept them to the conclusions they themselves have reached, and so pre-occupy the mind, fairly or unfairly, against antagonistic arguments. To construct a definition applicable to all systems alike, necessitates a generality of language which to the uninitiated may seem unmeaning. But to an historian of philosophy no other course is open. If we consider some of the definitions that have been given by various philosophers, the reasonableness of these remarks will appear. Cicero's "science of things divine and

human," probably derived from Plato, implies a cosmological hypothesis which, as he understood it, would not be admitted now, and by some would, in any sense of it, be rejected. Hegel's "identity of identity and non-identity" commits us irrevocably to the vagaries of his transcendentalism. And in "the science of the relations of all knowledge to the necessary ends of human reason," we have, in fact, an embodiment of the philosophy of Kant. Dr. Ueberweg's is as unobjectionable as any. For all must admit that "things are," whatever they may understand either by "things" or by their being said to "be." And all must acknowledge that things possess "nature, laws, and connection," otherwise the business of philosophy is at an end. The colourlessness of Dr. Ueberweg's definition is, at least, a transparent rather than an opaque colourlessness, when he says that philosophy is "the science of principles."

Philosophy, as thus defined, is the universal science: constructed from a collation of all sciences, it gives laws and prescribes limits to each: last in historical development, it is the first in logical explanation. It is the ultimate synthesis, combining the products of the most profound analysis the human mind can perform: it carries man's thoughts to the utmost verge of his reflective capacity, and makes the nearest approach unaided reason can make to the thoughts of God. Here, surely, the exclamation of the physical discoverer—"O God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee!"—becomes even more appropriate in the mouth of the reverent inquirer. How truly every science strikes its roots into this soil may be seen from a few examples. Natural philosophy discusses the laws of the forces that rule the material universe; but in the very first question propounded by it—"What is force?"—it becomes metaphysical, for the possibility or impossibility of an answer depends on the view taken of the powers of the human mind. Mathematics is the science of quantity; but though its demonstrations proceed regularly enough from its assumptions, the nature of these assumptions, whether intuitive or inductive, is a problem in philosophy, and another is that which concerns the validity of the demonstrative process itself. Physiology conducts us to a widely different domain, but it is one in which the connection with philosophy is even more obvious, for, at the very threshold, we are encountered by the mystery of life.

In ethics, politics, and theology we have sciences in which not only are the foundations laid in philosophy, but the superstructure is built of the same materials, the difference being in the treatment they undergo. For philosophy is the science of principles, and principles can only exist in the mind: its main concern, therefore, is with the mind as a repertory of principles generally, of which, in their most important applications, the last-named sciences treat.

Some acquaintance with philosophy is an obvious advantage to all who would cultivate any particular science, and much more to those who would study the sciences in their mutual relation. Few indeed have leisure and ability, with Lord Bacon, to "take all knowledge for their province:" the majority of men must be content with some particular portion of the field. The necessities of life, apart from any other considerations, generally impose this restriction; and happy are they who, in seeking to pursue some branch of science, have no need to turn aside from their regular calling. But if this division of the field is not to be productive of a most mischievous narrowness of mind, the labourer must frequently exchange the bent attitude and fixed gaze with which he concentrates attention on a few objects for the freer sweep of a wide and general observation. This he must do, not only to afford himself the relief of variety, and to ward off the approaches of conceit, but in order to arrive at a better understanding of the science which chiefly occupies his mind. It has been said that he who only knows one language knows none, and the adage holds good in the circle of the sciences as well as in the Babel of human speech. But if he is not to be bewildered by their complexity, the observer must take up a position which commands all the paths of human thought. It is said of that eminent physicist, M. De Saussure, that no amount of study bestowed upon maps, and no amount of observation carried on in the plains and vales beneath, gave him a true idea of the configuration of the Alps, until, having climbed their highest peak (at a time when the ascent was not so common as it is now), one glance of the eye poured a flood of light on all his previous cogitations, and explained in a moment the plan of the whole range. A similar discovery awaits the student of science when he ascends the heights of philosophy. Then he discerns to their utmost spurs the noble outlines of the various provinces of human knowledge, here sharply



defined, there shadowy and dim, in one direction receding and leaving an unfilled gorge between, in another approaching and blending into unity again. Such an observer, to quit the figure, will understand the divisions of science and the principle that regulates them; why some subjects are deemed capable and worthy of scientific treatment and others not; why in some there is a community of method, so that hints derived from a given department are applicable in a different one; why in others the method should be so various, everything here being characterised by the precision and exhaustiveness of deduction, everything there liable to the fluctuations of opinion, the uncertainties of incomplete experiment and the conflicting influence of opposed inductions, while yonder the inductive and the deductive methods join hand in hand, conferring mutual harmony and strength. Even though the loftiest eminence should not be reached, or intervening clouds should obscure the prospect, the greatest mental profit cannot but attend such exercise, and new views, however partial, unfold at every turn in the ascent.

Of course, in commending studies like these, we do not mean that they should be the first in order of pursuit. Their abstract nature is calculated to tax the energies of the robustest mind. And this abstractness becomes mere unintelligibility to those who are not prepared by previous more limited studies to embody subtle conceptions in images of concrete things. The order of pursuit for the student should be the original order of historical evolution. Man first of all dealt with the external world, not suspecting the existence of an internal: then, when he had achieved something like a conquest of nature, he began to inquire what he had done, how he had done it, and wherein lay his warrant for doing it at all. And so still the mind must be stored with facts that it may have something to philosophise upon. It was the *coup d'œil* from Mont Blanc that cast such illumination on the mind of the illustrious observer; but without the foregoing explorations and meditations it would have revealed no more to him than it does to the crowd of tourists whose sole ambition in risking life and limb is to say that they have stood upon the highest ground in Europe.

These remarks should, however, be understood with a certain limitation. It is not every science that need be studied in order to a comprehension of the scope of

philosophy. In its bearings upon human life and conduct philosophy has an interest for the most unscientific man, if he be at all given to reflect on what passes around and within him. It is noteworthy that men debarred by circumstances from acquiring a proficiency in exact science or polite literature have yet sometimes made considerable attainments in metaphysical pursuits. Samuel Drew assigns as a reason for his devotion to them, not any natural affinity, but simply the determination to give himself some mental culture, and the impossibility, as it appeared to him, of a self-taught man making much progress in any other line. A curious reason certainly for endeavouring to fathom the deepest recesses of the human mind. But, in fact, every man who thinks is already a philosopher, and will be all the better for the attempt to understand what he is about. Taking the study of character alone, and considering that all must prosecute it who wish to benefit either themselves or society, how large is the advantage possessed by one who has spread out before him a map of the human mind, who can form an estimate of the possible motives that may influence his fellow in any given transaction, and who, casting off the prejudices that hinder men from understanding others ever so slightly removed from their own track, and rising superior to the tyrannous influence of society upon himself, is enabled with steady hand to gauge the present tendencies of things, and with clear foresight to descry the dangers that threaten in the distance, and the means whereby they may be warded off!

If, from the consideration of man as an agent seeking to economise his resources and to augment his power over his fellow man, we pass to the question of the direction in which his energy should expend itself, and the checks that should be put upon it,—the question of right, and law, and conscience, and duty, and religion,—the aid of philosophy is still more powerful. Theology is a science, and one that every man cannot but make some pretensions to, who believes himself to be the subject of a Divine government, and who continually hears, if he does not read, professed expositions of its principles. Ethics, whether considered as a branch of theology or not, is entitled to the same rank. And the reciprocal benefits due to the alliance of both with philosophy are numerous and great. This is matter of history. Granted that the union has not always

been as beneficial as might have been expected, and that at times it has been positively baneful, there remains a large balance of actual profit on either side. True, there have been attempts to reduce Christianity to a mere province of philosophy, to eliminate the supernatural from its history, and to demonstrate its natural origination from pre-existent elements of thought. True, the restraints put upon philosophy by religious authority were, for ages, prejudicial to anything like progress, so that the days of their closest alliance were the days of the deepest degeneracy of both. True, also, the rupture has been startling, and the breach is now wider than ever, between Christianity and certain "advanced" schools of thought. Yet it must be remembered that the whole terminology of theological science is the creation of scholasticism, and that in return for this great boon, the Church, though a cruel and meddlesome nurse, did yet for ages foster and keep alive the very spirit she was so loth to set free from her bonds. If theology is to-day one of the most vigorous and flourishing of the sciences, it is partly due to the quickening impulse communicated by the revival of philosophy and letters. If other sciences flourish side by side with it, it is because the spiritual enlightenment of a true theology has shed new lustre on the life and destiny of man.

As it has been in the history of the human mind generally, so it is still in the experience of individuals. Those who construct a system of theology or ethics without reference to philosophy, are rearing an edifice without first examining the foundations on which it is to rest. Consciously or not, there are always certain philosophical principles assumed by those who adopt any religious creed; but every "wise master-builder" will ascertain what they are before he proceeds to build.

There are no doubt objections that may be urged against these views. It may be said, for instance, that if we posit philosophy as a foundation to theology, we in fact make it the judge and arbiter of things which lie beyond the reach of human reason. What if philosophy should determine that a revelation is in itself impossible? Or, supposing one to be granted, is it not theology that should mould philosophy rather than *vice versa*? These objections overlook the consideration that philosophy is not a spontaneous creation of the human mind, independent of the

facts of human existence. It is an hypothesis framed inductively for the purpose of accounting for those facts. It may be granted that a sound philosophy takes for its basis certain intuitive convictions, still that these are intuitive is first of all established by induction. So also with regard to revelation. The existence of that which professes to be such is a phenomenon to be accounted for as much as the existence of the world itself. And thus, by furnishing its quota of facts, revelation does help to lay the philosophical foundations on which it afterwards begins to build. In this there is no logical see-saw, any more than in those departments where the supernatural does not come in, and to which the same method is applied. Revelation, in fact, assumes a philosophical basis, and commits the investigation of it as fearlessly to the faithful exercise of human faculties as it does the preservation of its own doctrines to the fidelity of the Christian Church.

But though all this be admitted, it may still be objected that the tendency of philosophical speculations is to engender a spirit alien from and adverse to the attitude of receptivity which becomes men of faith. We cannot think that there is really more danger in this kind of mental employment than in any other not directly connected with the spiritual world. Indeed, we believe there is less, for many other pursuits might be named that require mental habitudes much more foreign to those demanded by Divine truth. John Wesley's strange fear lest much geometry should make him a Deist had better grounds than any that could be assigned for a similar apprehension on the part of an intending student of philosophy. The demand for exact demonstration made by mathematical science was, in his view, likely to be felt in another region, where the accumulation of moral probabilities is all that can be offered. But between theology and philosophy this difference does not exist; their method is one and the same. Far more danger appears to arise from the pursuit of the inductive physical sciences. The difference here is not in the method employed, but in the matter dealt with. The universal reign of law in the material world indisposes the mind to encounter problems in which so uncertain an agent as the human will has to be taken into the account. And it is no marvel if men accustomed to the contemplation of laws that know no exceptions and suffer no infringements, constructing their metaphysical

foundations out of the slender materials of their own favourite science, should adopt a mechanical theory that binds down all manifestations, material or spiritual, under the dominion of that unknown principle called Force. But this danger for the student of philosophy does not exist.

There are dangers, however. There is the danger of regarding philosophy as sufficient for all the wants of the mind, and rendering it independent of revelation. But this is only its abuse, to be guarded against as the trader guards against "speculation" of a different kind, that would tempt him to exercise his calling independently of capital. The Apostle condemns the one abuse when he says, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit," just as he condemns the other when he launches his diatribes against "filthy lucre." But the recognition of a possible abuse is not a prohibition, but a virtual permission of the legitimate use. There is the opposite danger lest, finding there are problems insoluble by philosophy, the mind should abandon what seems a hopeless task, and take refuge in universal scepticism. But wherever we may direct our inquiries, the same difficulty stares us in the face; and if the chance of such a catastrophe is to deter us from investigation, then the Romish interdict upon the Bible is the only alternative for students of revelation itself. Doubt is more frequently the offspring of a state of semi-enlightenment than of the residual ignorance which the limits of finite intelligence forbid to be removed. If we come to examples, we find that the leaders in the van of philosophical inquiry have generally retained their pristine faith. Bacon and Descartes, the founders of modern philosophy and science, were firm believers in revelation. The same may be said of Leibnitz and Locke. Malebranche and Pascal were defenders of the faith: Berkeley and Reid also sought to strengthen the alliance between philosophy and religion. Sir William Hamilton was a sincere Christian: one of his last utterances was a quotation from the twenty-third Psalm, expressive of his own experience, "Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." Immanuel Kant's great work was undertaken for the purpose of erecting a bulwark against scepticism; and an unshaken confidence in eternal verities evidently inspired the solemn statement he is reported to have made in his last days, "Gentlemen, I do not fear to die. I assure you, as in the presence of God,

that if, on this very night, suddenly the summons to death were to reach me, I should hear it with calmness, should raise my hands to heaven, and say, Blessed be God!" Even the modern advocates of what looks like a materialistic philosophy have some of them asserted, however difficult it may be to receive the saying, that there is no necessary antagonism between their system and Christianity. In an earlier age the heretical Jew Spinoza offered no intentional opposition to revealed truth: his Pantheism coexisted with so much of religious feeling as to draw from the Catholic Novalis that irreverent but not uncomplimentary designation of him, "the God-intoxicated man;" and it is some set-off against the mischief of his subtle speculations that they should have evoked from the pen of John Howe such a masterly reply as we have in his *Living Temple*. Even Hobbes and Hume had their use in being the instrumental origin of works like Samuel Clarke's *Discourse on the Being and Attributes of God*, and Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion*.

To refuse inquiry into philosophical systems lest we should be tempted to question the theological one to which we stand committed, is a very ostrich-like method of avoiding danger. Either the system we have adopted is true, or it is not. If not, the sooner it is exploded the better. If it is, it will harmonise with other truth of whatsoever kind; and the proof of this will be an additional weapon to be used both in our own defence and for the conviction of those who have too hastily concluded that a Gospel proclaimed by fishermen must be unworthy of notice from disciples of the Porch. There is, in fact, a scheme of philosophy that will comport most perfectly with the claims of revelation; and although this very alliance may have subjected it to some heavy blows, it will probably outlast the various systems which have been in turn put forward to take its place. To decry philosophy because errors are propagated by some of its adherents, would be as unreasonable as to pass an indiscriminate censure upon Continental military systems, which include schemes so widely divergent as those of Germany and France, or upon German theology, which embraces schools so antagonistic as those of Rudolf Stier and Strauss.

Further objections, on the ground of the presumed uselessness of researches of this kind, may be easily disposed of. Such may arise from one or other of the following



suppositions—suppositions which of course will only be made by those whose knowledge of the subject has been gathered from hearsay, or from hasty and superficial glances, rather than from any serious endeavours to understand it. The phraseology of the science may, at the outset, deter the timid. But the terminology of any science is at first mysterious: as soon as a connection is established in the mind between the language and the objects denoted by it, the mystery vanishes. There is this difference, indeed, between mental and natural science, that the objects treated of by the latter are material, and so admit of representation before the eye either of the body or of the mind, which the objects of the former do not. To perform acts of abstraction with reference to material things is difficult enough: how much more when they are directed upon things so intangible as the faculties of the mind, their limits, products and relations. Here the objects themselves are abstractions; and it is only by a process of reasoning that we can certify their existence, and that an existence simply as modifications of a substance which itself is only hypothecated for the purpose of explaining the impalpable phenomena of consciousness. Moreover, it must be admitted that these difficulties of conception have beset the path, not only of tyros, but of the veterans in the course, and have been aggravated by real variations in the use of terms both as employed by different men and as employed at different times by the same man. But, after all, the fact remains that to every term in this as in any other science there corresponds an object of thought and one that may by patient attention be as firmly grasped and as clearly distinguished as any of the objects of sense, although in the process the mind requires to be turned inward upon itself.

Another supposition as to the inutility of this science is grounded on the acknowledged fluctuations in the current of philosophical opinion, the alternate action and reaction which its history inevitably exhibits, the unsolved condition of its chief problems, and the natural suspicion thus engendered of their ultimate irresolvability. But the same objection must lie against any of the sciences that have not yet assumed absolute fixity of form. For some of these there may be put in the plea of comparative infancy, as for example geology; and it may be supposed that philosophy, having been in existence since the

days of Thales, if it had anything to teach us, would by this time have been able at least to explain the connection between mind and matter, or to distinguish between the native and the adventitious possessions of the soul. But the plea of infancy is in reality just as admissible in the one case as in the other, or else not in either. In one sense it is not admissible in either. For the ancients also speculated in cosmogony, which is to-day the chief occupation of geology; and so the latter is as ancient as philosophy, if not more. But if it be said that they mistook not only the method but the very objects of that science, confounding things in heaven with things on earth, and adopting the most arbitrary hypotheses concerning both, and that geological science properly so called only dates from the beginning of this century,—how close is the parallel between its fortunes and those of metaphysics. A similar misunderstanding as to its province clouded the intellects of the early inquirers, which indeed was not wholly dispelled until the days of Descartes, who first limited it to the domain of consciousness. And in respect of method the same unsatisfactory principles, involving a perpetual *petitio principii*, reigned still from Descartes to Kant. Even now the sufficiency of the appeal to consciousness is not universally admitted, a doubtful physiological hypothesis being made the warrant for a mode of investigation which seems to point to an annihilation of the profound distinction between matter and mind. If these acknowledged facts are sufficient to invalidate the pretensions of philosophy, the fact, that is, either of its antiquity as proving its incompetency to its prescribed task, or of its infancy as testifying to its undeveloped condition,—then the bar sinister crosses the fair escutcheons of theology, ethics, political economy, and all the social sciences, not only as lying open to the same accusations and sharing the same disgrace, but as themselves being scions of that stock whose honour is so foully tarnished, and whose banners have been so miserably dragged through the mire. But this very unsettledness forms for every ambitious mind one main incentive to exertion. Prove that the mission of any science is accomplished, whether as having found out all that can be known or as having demonstrated that nothing can be known to any purpose, and imagination folds the wings which beat idly against the walls of its prison-house; but throw open the doors, and it matters not how the horizon

recedes step by step from the advancing observer, nor how perilous the enterprise he meditates of measuring the illimitable, the mind will use its liberty to explore the mysteries of being and still hold on its arduous course long after it is found to be interminable.

A final supposition yet remains, that philosophy is at best unnecessary, common sense being for all practical purposes a sufficient guide. Certainly, if the utility of a study is to be measured by the number of its professed admirers, not to say proficient, the verdict would appear, at least so far as this country is concerned, to go against philosophy; although this is a reproach that is being wiped away. But supposing a man to have leisure and capacity for such a pursuit, is he dispensed from its cultivation by mere lack of liking? Is it possible to do as well without as with it? No more than it is possible for a man to build as good a house without as with the aid of the architect and the mason. A man may think that to deal with human nature and human life he needs no acquaintance with the principles of the one or the practice of the other beyond what his own experience may afford him; but by confining himself within such limits he loses the advantage of the systematised information that has been gathered by a thousand observant minds, and made ready to his hand by those whose business it is to communicate it. Unless the foundations of human knowledge are to be laid anew with every succeeding generation, something must be accepted from the hands of others: the originality which declines such obligations is a childish and misleading originality, guessing its way from false premisses to falser conclusions, wasting its energies in taking bearings and establishing signals where every quicksand and every channel is already marked, and venturing boldly upon waters that just cover well-known and plainly indicated rocks. And all the while this same originality unconsciously makes use of the results of philosophy. The language it employs is the product of philosophy, as exemplified in the very word used to disparage it,—for “common sense” is itself a philosophical term, having an explicit reference to the constitution of the human mind. And nothing is more prejudicial to successful inquiry than this vague popular employment of terms which have a definite signification in philosophy. No sound satisfactory progress can ever be made in anything that pertains to the happiness of society, until there

be more widely diffused some knowledge of the foundations on which its structure rests.

So much it has seemed necessary to say in commendation of this department of science to those who, repelled by its supposed barrenness or absorbed in special pursuits, may not have included it within their range of systematic study. By way of linking these observations with those we have to make upon the two volumes mentioned at the head of this paper, it is necessary to dwell a little on the importance to any student of philosophy of some acquaintance with its history. This will, in part, have been suggested already by the tenor of the foregoing paragraphs. The antithesis between the exact sciences and those of the class now under consideration is nowhere more marked than here. When the youthful geometer has been conducted through the preparatory stages to the proposition which establishes the grand property of all right-angled triangles, it adds but an antiquarian interest to the train of triumphant demonstrations to be told how many thousands of years have elapsed since its discovery: in like manner the comparative recency of the analytical method of investigating the properties of conic sections neither enhances nor impairs its beauty. Each man goes over the same ground that his predecessors have traversed, and arrives at the same conclusions. And all the invention displayed in the construction of more and more arduous problems is but an exercise of ingenuity, wonderful indeed, but still rigorously restricted to the formation of various combinations of a few fixed principles. Of history proper in such departments—past, present, or to come—there is and can be none. It is otherwise when we pass in review the scenes which successively appear upon the stage of moral speculation. Truth is as unchanging in the moral as in the mathematical sphere. But, besides that its range is much more extensive, the power to grasp it and to perceive its applications is a more complex thing, being itself as much moral as intellectual, and varying much more in different men than the ability to perform a purely intellectual act. Here it is essential not only that a truth should be known, but that its importance should be recognised; and the instruments of its admeasurement are not, like those of the astronomer, freed from extraneous influences and to be depended on for the marking of infinitesimal variations: the apparatus here employed can only

be the faculties of imagination, conscience, passion, will, whose eccentricity, even after an average has been taken extending over their widest range of operation, may yet vitiate the final result. Hence it is that the dicta of no philosopher can rule absolutely in philosophy: superior weight of character, joined to superior powers of persuasion, may make him the centre of a school that shall command a wide hearing and wield for a time something like paramount authority; but principles that he has overlooked may at any moment come into prominence and render his system obsolete. And as no man can aspire to a dictatorship in philosophy, so neither can his true place be assigned him without an estimate of his relations to the age in which he lived, and still less in most cases without an estimate of the ages that went before him. What is true of individual men is still more true of periods. The philosophy of any given age takes its complexion, nay, derives its substance, from those which have preceded it. The movements of thought may appear to be capricious and may sometimes really be so,—now following in the line of direct advance, now doubling back upon their course, now appearing to be stationary, and then again striking out in new and unexpected directions,—but continuity is nevertheless preserved. Men, in fact, think thus and thus to-day because their fathers thought thus and thus before them—not only because they thought however, but because they acted on their thoughts and so proved or disproved the correctness of them.

Hence will appear the necessity of combining with the study of any particular doctrine, or of any particular school, some reference to its origin and the successive modifications through which it has reached its present form. In fact, the best method of approaching this whole subject, or rather cycle of subjects, is to study in the first place the writings of some one or two great thinkers—it matters little which, and whether ancient or modern—and then, having mastered the phraseology of the science and obtained a firm grasp of its leading principles, to trace their progress historically, upwards or downwards or both as the case may be, and with more or less minuteness as opportunity may serve, throughout the whole course of their existence. Only so can ordinary men hope to attain anything like a comprehension of the science: so they may attain it, without that exhaustive examination or even cursory perusal of all that has been written which

in the majority of cases would be impossible. The necessity of such a history of opinion was recognised by that great philosopher Sir William Hamilton, who constantly interwove sections of it with the general course of his lectures, and thus prepared his pupils for independent exploration of the territories through which he led them. For such excursions, in whatsoever direction, as well as for all the purposes of the student, we have, not a mere handbook, but a comprehensive directory, in the volumes before us.

We do not exaggerate when we say that in this translation we have the most massive and profound History of Philosophy that ever appeared in this country. In quantity of matter it far exceeds anything we possess on the subject. Like the popular work of G. H. Lewes it is in two volumes, but the two contain as much as six or eight ordinary octavos. This compression has not been attained at the expense of clearness: the use of various kinds of type indicates the relative importance of the paragraphs, but in no case is the type inconveniently small or the general appearance of the page marred by its variations. When we examine the quality of the work, we find it a marvel of erudition and exactness. It would seem as though not a single treatise or tractate ever written on philosophy had escaped the notice of the late Königsberg professor and his coadjutors in this gigantic task. The pages literally bristle with references to the numerous works and editions of works which before and since the revival of learning have discussed in every European tongue the profounder problems of the human mind. Yet the book is far from being a mere repertory of quotations. Of every principal writer at least, besides a list of his works, there is given a short biographical notice and a condensed analysis of his opinions, together with an estimate of his influence on the course of speculation. All are grouped into periods which represent, not only their chronological succession, but their genetic connection and mutual relations of antagonism and agreement. At the same time this systematisation is not so rigid as to exclude all notice of a writer's idiosyncrasies.

The whole work naturally divides into two sections, the one discussing the Philosophy of Antiquity, the other the Philosophy of the Christian Era. Each of these embraces three periods. The first volume includes all the ancient philosophy, and two out of the three periods of the Chris-



tian ; the third, entitled *Modern Philosophy*, occupying the whole of the second and larger volume.

Of the causes predisposing to the cultivation of philosophy the following brief statement is given, accounting to some extent for its early restriction to one illustrious race :—

“Philosophy, as science, could originate neither among the peoples of the North, who were eminent for strength and courage, but devoid of culture, nor among the Orientals, who, though susceptible of the elements of higher culture, were content simply to retain them in a spirit of passive resignation,—but only among the Hellenes, who harmoniously combined the characteristics of both. The Romans, devoted to practical, and particularly to political problems, scarcely occupied themselves with philosophy, except in the appropriation of Hellenic ideas, and scarcely attained to any productive originality of their own. The so-called philosophy of the Orientals lacks in the tendency to strict demonstration, and hence in scientific character. Whatever philosophical elements are discoverable among them are so blended with religious notions, that a separate exposition is scarcely possible. Besides, even after the meritorious investigations of modern times, our knowledge of Oriental thought remains far too incomplete and uncertain for a connected and authentic presentation. We omit, therefore, here the special consideration of the various theorems of Oriental philosophy.”

The attention of the reader is therefore, of course, mainly directed to the philosophy of the Greeks, which occupies about two hundred and fifty pages. Of its three periods, the first is that of the *Pre-sophistic Philosophy*, whose bent is chiefly cosmological. It embraces the earlier *Ionic Natural Philosophy*, represented by Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus of Ephesus ; the *Pythagorean* ; the *Eleatic doctrine of the unity and immutability of being*, whose foundation was “laid in theological form by Xenophanes of Colophon, metaphysically developed as a doctrine of being by Parmenides of Elea, dialectically defended in opposition to the vulgar belief in a plurality of objects and in revolution and change by Zeno of Elea, and finally, with some declension in vigour of thought, assimilated more nearly to the earlier natural philosophy by Melissus of Samos ;” and the later *Natural Philosophy of Empedocles and Anaxagoras*, who taught the existence of a spiritual force in addition to the material substances, and of the *Atomists*, Leucippus and Democritus, who sought

to comprehend all phenomena as products of matter and motion alone. The second period begins with the Sophists, proceeds to the grand central epoch of the Socratico-Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, and concludes with the Stoics and Epicureans, whose principles ultimately blended in Eclecticism and Scepticism: it is distinguished throughout by the predominance of anthropology, the science of the thinking and willing subject (logic and ethics), accompanied by a return to physics. The third period leads through the Jewish-Alexandrians and the Neo-Pythagoreans to the Neo-Platonists, who bring up the rear of the ancient philosophers: it is characterised by the predominance of theosophy, so preparing the way for a philosophy distinctively Christian.

Of the three periods of the Christian era, the first is the Patristic, the second the Scholastic, and the third the Modern. Before proceeding to discuss them, Dr. Ueberweg gives a brief sketch of the doctrines of Christ and His Apostles. It may seem strange that a name we are accustomed to surround with a halo of supernatural glory should be placed side by side with those of Democritus and Cicero, Plotinus and Proclus, but we must remember that no discredit is thereby cast upon its claims to our devoutest homage. The source of the teachings with which it stands connected is not necessarily questioned because those teachings are subjected to a rigorous philosophical analysis. They must be capable of abiding such a test if supernatural in their origin. And the result of its application is seen in the universal confession that from the beginning Christianity has stamped a peculiar character on the whole course of philosophic thought. The fundamental difference between heathen and Christian philosophy is thus stated by Dr. Ueberweg:—

“The general characteristic of the human mind in ante-Christian, and particularly in Hellenic, antiquity, may be described as its comparatively unreflecting belief in its own harmony, and of its oneness with nature. The sense of an opposition, as existing either among its own different functions and interests, or between the mind and nature as needing reconciliation, is as yet relatively undeveloped.”

“The religious facts, ideas, and doctrines of Christianity gave a new impulse to philosophical investigation. The philosophic thought of Christian times has been mainly occupied with the theological, cosmological and anthropological postulates of the Biblical doctrine

of salvation, the foundation of which is the 'consciousness of the law, of sin, and of redemption. The primitive creative epoch in the history of Christianity was followed in the Middle Ages by a period especially characterised by the evolution of the consciousness of opposition between God and the world, priests and laity, Church and State, and, in general, between the human spirit, on the one hand, and God, the human spirit itself, and nature on the other. The period of modern times, on the contrary, is marked, in the main, by the development of the consciousness of restored unity, and hence of the reconciliation and freedom of the human spirit."

But this reconciliation is not to be confounded with the arbitrarily assumed unity with nature of the ante-Christian period:—

"There are some who have sought to discover a complete parallelism between the progress of development of ancient and that of modern philosophy, asserting, in general, that essentially the same philosophical problems have always recurred, and that the result of all attempts at their solution has been, without the intervention of some special modifying cause, essentially the same. But both these pre-suppositions have only a limited truth. . . . While ancient philosophy began with cosmology, and then confined its attention chiefly to logic and ethics, together with physics, at last substantially concentrating all its interest on theology, modern philosophy found all these branches already existing, and was developed under their influence, as also under the existing forms of State and Church, which, on the other hand, were to an important extent determined by the influence of ancient philosophy; the progress of modern philosophy has consisted in the gradual emancipation and deepening of the philosophising spirit. The modern mind (as Kuno Fischer—who assumes for the period of transition a parallelism in reverse order with the line of development—justly remarks, *Gesch. der neueren Philos.*, 2nd Ed., *Manheim*, 1865, I. i. p. 82) seeks to 'find a way out of the theological conception of the world, with which it is filled, to the problems of cosmology.'"

The above quotations show that Dr. Ueberweg is disposed to rate at its full value the influence of Christianity upon philosophy. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that he should also have spoken definitely as to the supernaturalness of its origin: his opinion on this point is rather left to be inferred than formally stated. His outline of primitive Christian doctrine is necessarily introduced for the purpose of affording an "insight into the genesis and connection of Christian ideas," and is very properly placed apart as something extraneous to the history of philosophy. But it is impossible for any writer to give ever so slight a sketch of

Christ's teachings without indicating under what views of their supernatural character he writes. The "essential originality and independence of the principles of Christianity" is asserted, but it is also held that "previous to their formal enunciation they had been foreshadowed and the ground had been prepared for them, partly in the general principles of Judaism, and partly and more particularly in connection with the attempt among the Jews to revive the ancient gift of prophecy (a movement to which Parsee influences contributed, and which lay at the foundation of Essenism.)" We should not object to this account of the foreshadowing of Christianity, if we could gather that, like Christianity itself, it is to be referred to the all-informing Spirit who prepared the new vessels as well as the new wine with which they were to be filled. But the whole tenor of this passage precludes our putting this meaning upon it. Such phraseology as "the attempt among the Jews to revive the ancient gift of prophecy" is only in keeping with the entire absence of any reference to the assertion by Christ and His Apostles of the intervention of a Divine Agent in all genuine spiritual manifestations. Respecting the person of Him who accomplished so wonderful a revolution in men's thinkings, there is the same absence of definite statement. "The recognition of Christ as the Son of God, in the Epistles of Paul and in the Gospel of Luke, is an expression of the sense of the universal or absolute character of the Christian religion." It is admitted that in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "it is said of Christ as the Son of God that by Him the world-periods (*aiōnes*) were created, &c.," and that the Fourth Gospel "recognises in Christ the Logos become flesh who was from eternity with God." But "however weighty and pregnant may have been the conceptions which Christ's immediate and indirect disciples may have formed of His person, it is, nevertheless, not true that the proper basis and the vital germ of Christian doctrine are to be sought in them; this basis and germ are contained rather in Jesus's *ethical* requirement of inward righteousness, purity of heart, and love, and in His own practice of the things He required." How it came to pass that He was able to practise these things does not appear; nor how His requirement that others should practise them could be complied with. "Jesus presupposed for those to whom His preaching was addressed the same immediate possi-

bility of elevation to purity of heart and to moral perfection, i.e., to the image of the perfect God, the heavenly Father, of which He was conscious in His own case." Consciousness of the image of God Christ certainly had, but consciousness of elevation to it is nowhere in the New Testament ascribed to Him. Here is a mystery: the Founder of a system which "first brings to consciousness the sense of discord, and [then] provides for the communication of Divine life to humanity, through the removal of this discord," was Himself exempt from the necessity of such a transformation. He, the Author of all that is most precious in the thought and life of humanity, nowhere acknowledges any participation in the cleansing process which He enjoins on all beside. The only solution is to be found in the hypothesis that He believed Himself to be, and therefore that He actually was, Divine. And this once admitted, there is no need for such clumsy accounts of the source of His inspiration as the following:—"Jesus, the disciple of John, feeling Himself, from the time of His baptism by John, the herald of the Messiah, to be Himself the Messiah, not inferior even to Moses in dignity (according to Deut. xviii. 15), and entrusted by God with imperishable authority and an eternal kingdom (Dan. vii. 13, 14), believed Himself called, and had the courage, to found a kingdom of God, to gather about Him the weary and heavy laden, to advance beyond all established forms, and to teach and live rather in accordance with the suggestions of His own moral consciousness, and the wants of the people, with whom He was in sympathy, than according to traditional institution." "Perhaps, also, the principles and regimen of the Essenes exerted (through John the Baptist) some influence on Jesus."

The Patristic period, extending from the time of the Apostles to that of Charlemagne, is divided into two sections, separated by the Council of Nice. "The first section includes the time of the genesis of the fundamental dogmas, when philosophical and theological speculation were inseparably interwoven. The second covers the period of the further development of the doctrines of the Church on the basis of the fundamental dogmas already established, in which period philosophy, being used to justify those dogmas, and co-operating in the further development of new ones, begins to assume a character of independence with reference to the dogmatic teaching of the Church."

Then follows the Scholastic period, which, in like manner, falls into two divisions: "1. The commencement of Scholasticism, or the accommodation of the Aristotelian logic and of Neo-Platonic philosophemes to the doctrine of the Church, from John Scotus Erigena to the Amalricans, or from the ninth till the beginning of the thirteenth century. 2. The complete development and widest extension of Scholasticism, or the combination of the Aristotelian philosophy, which had now become fully known, to the dogmas of the Church—from Alexander of Hales to the close of the Middle Ages, the revival of classical studies, the commencement of the investigation of nature, and the division of the Church." The third period, that of Modern philosophy, which occupies the whole of the second volume, is divided into three sections: 1. The Transitional period, beginning with the renewal of Platonism, and treating of the relations of Protestantism to philosophy, as well as of the first buddings of independent investigation of nature: this is dismissed in thirty pages. 2. The epoch of Empiricism, Dogmatism, and Scepticism, from Bacon and Descartes to the Encyclopædist and Hume: this occupies a hundred. 3. The epoch of the Kantian Criticism, and of the systems issuing from it, from Kant till the present time, fills the remaining four hundred pages, which embrace, however, two long and important appendices, one on English and American Philosophy by Dr. Porter, and the other on that of Italy by the late Dr. Vincenzo Botta.

Considering the peculiar difficulties incident to such a work as this, one of its wonders is its lucid style. An initial difficulty lies, of course, in the nature of the subject. Next comes the fact that German is the particular language in which this work was originally written. It has always seemed to us that, however profound their lucubrations, the language of German philosophers must make greatly against them. We doubt whether a language that in Luther's day had scarcely emerged from barbarism could by any possibility, within three centuries, become as good a medium of philosophic teachings as one that is classical in its foundation, or that is largely indebted for its vocabulary to classical tongues. Then it is to be considered that condensation is one of the main features of the present work, an art that of itself requires a special apprenticeship. And finally, the work is translated into English, and this task again demands qualifications of its own. In view of these



things the marvel is, not that there should be occasional obscurity, but that it should be so occasional. Take for instance the following luminous view of Bacon's division of the field of human knowledge, which, however crude, marks a new era in the history of mind. The passage must serve as a specimen of the whole.

"History, according to Bacon, rests on the faculty of memory, poetry on the imagination, and philosophy or science proper on the understanding. Bacon divides history into *Historia Civilis* and *Naturalis*. In connection with the former he mentions especially, as desiderata, the history of literature and the history of philosophy. Poetry he divides into epic, dramatic, and allegorico-didactic. Philosophy has for its objects God, man, and nature (*Philosophia objectum triplex; Deus, natura et homo; percutit autem natura intellectum nostrum radio directo, Deus autem propter medium inæquale radio tantum refracto, ipse vero homo sibi et ipsi monstratur et exhibitur radio reflexo*). In so far as our knowledge of God is derived from revelation, it is not knowledge, but faith; but natural or philosophical theology is incompetent to ground any affirmative knowledge, although it is sufficient for the refutation of atheism, since the explanation of nature by physical causes is incomplete without recourse to Divine Providence. Says Bacon:—'Slight tastes of philosophy may perchance move one to atheism, but fuller draughts lead back to religion (*leves gustus in philosophia movere fortasse ad atheismum, sed pleniores haustus ad religionem reducere*). As is God, so also, according to Bacon, is the spirit (*spiraculum*), which God has breathed into man, scientifically incognisable; only the physical soul, which is a thin, warm, material substance, is an object of scientific knowledge. *Philosophia prima, or scientia universalis*, develops the conceptions and principles which lie equally at the foundation of all parts of philosophy, such as the conceptions of being and non-being, similarity and difference, or the axiom of the equality of two magnitudes which are equal to a third. The object of natural philosophy is either the knowledge or the application of the knowledge of the laws of nature, and is accordingly either speculative or operative. Speculative natural philosophy, in so far as it considers efficient causes, is physics; in so far as it considers ends, it is metaphysics. Operative natural philosophy, considered as the application of physics, is mechanics; as the application of metaphysics, it is natural magic. Mathematics is a science auxiliary to physics. Astronomy should not only construe phenomena and their laws mathematically, but explain them physically. (But by his rejection of the Copernican system, which he regarded as an extravagant fancy, and by undervaluing mathematics, Bacon closed the way against the fulfilment by astronomy of the latter requirement.) The philosophical doctrine

of man considers man either in his isolation, or as a member of society; it includes, therefore, anthropology (*philosophia humana*) and politics (*philosophia civilis*). Anthropology is concerned with the human body and the human soul. Psychology relates, first of all, to sensations and motions, and to their mutual relation. Bacon ascribes to all the elements of bodies perceptions, which manifest themselves by attractions and repulsions. The (conscious) sensations of the soul are, according to Bacon, to be distinguished from mere perceptions, and he demands that the nature and ground of this difference be more precisely investigated. After anthropology follows logic, or the doctrine of knowledge, whose end is truth, and ethics, or the doctrine of the will, whose object is the good (the welfare of the individual and of the community:—*logica ad illuminationis puritatem, ethica ad liberæ voluntatis directionem servit*). As the hand is the instrument of instruments, and the object of ethics is 'internal goodness' (*bonitas interna*), that of politics (*philosophia civilis*) is 'external goodness in intercourse, business, and government' (*bonitas externa in conversationibus, negotiis et regimine sive imperio*). Bacon demands that politics should not be treated of by mere school-philosophers, nor by partial jurists, but by statesmen."

On one point we find the views of Sir William Hamilton slightly misrepresented. Dr. Porter regards him (p. 416) as holding that "External Perception consists of two elements, viz.—Sensation and Perception Proper, which are contrasted with one another respectively as feeling and knowledge, and which coexist and energise in an inverse ratio to each other." It is quite true that Sir William Hamilton treats of the distinction between sensation and perception proper in that portion of his course which relates to external perception. But he never calls sensation an element of perception. On the contrary, he blames Reid (*Metaphysics*, Vol. II. page 93) for his want of precision in respect to these two terms, and points out that Reid, in the act of external perception, "distinguished two elements, to which he gave the names of perception and sensation." True Hamilton adds, "He ought, perhaps, to have called these *perception proper* and *sensation proper*," but this is, he goes on to explain, "when employed in his special meaning; for in the language of other philosophers *sensation* was a term which included his perception, and *perception* a term comprehensive of what he called sensation." Hamilton's own views are given on pages 97 and 98 of his *Metaphysics*. "The opposition of perception and sensation is true, but it is not a statement adequate to the

generality of the contrast. Perception is only a special kind of knowledge ; and sensation only a kind of feeling ; and *knowledge* and *feeling*, you will recollect, are two out of the three great classes into which we primarily divide the phenomena of the mind." Sensation, then, so far from being an element of external perception, is not even to be regarded as an intellectual operation at all, but as one special exercise of the feelings, always the concomitant indeed of the special exercise of the intellect denominated perception, but not a constituent element of it.

But it is time to draw to a close. Our object in this paper has been rather to recommend the study of philosophy and to remark upon the additional facilities for its prosecution afforded by the publication of the work before us, than to attempt an exhaustive discussion of the relative merits of histories of philosophy in general. On this subject an article may be shortly hoped for from the pen to which we owe our recent valuable sketch of the History of Logic and Logical Doctrines in England. Suffice it to say, in conclusion, respecting the specimen of the *Theological and Philosophical Library* now before us, that in typography and general execution it shows the same workmanlike excellence as in its contents. A few errors of the press, such as "autonomies," Vol. II. p. 418, for "antimonies," and "area clause," page 432, for "a real clause," are only proofs of the adage that absolute accuracy in typography is unattainable. We confess that we are not so cosmopolitan in our tastes (or shall we say neocosmic?) as to prefer readings like "favored," "skepticism," "fullness," "traveling," &c. to those which exhibit the sublime irregularities of English orthography. But these are mere motes in the sunbeam.

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ART. VII. —1. *Reports of the Old Catholic Congresses Held at Munich, September, 1871; at Cologne, September, 1872; and at Constance, September, 1873.*

2. *Theologisches Literaturblatt.* Edited by Professor REUSCH. Bonn.

3. *The Vatican Council and the Old Catholic Movement.* A Paper Read by Professor KRAFFT at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, New York, October, 1873.

THE Vatican Council, by expelling those Catholics who adhered to the former doctrinal status of their Church and forcing them into the attitude of schism called Old Catholicism, has given rise to the most important movement within the bosom of the Latin Church since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Œcumenical Councils have, indeed, been often followed by secessions, as a glance at Church history will show. A conscientious minority will not yield, in matters of faith, to a mere majority vote. Thus the Council of Nicæa (325) was only the signal for a new and more serious war between orthodoxy and the Arian heresy, and, even after the triumph of the former at Constantinople (381), the latter lingered for centuries among the newly-converted German races. The Council of Ephesus (431) gave rise to the Nestorian schism, and the Council of Chalcedon (451) to the several Monophysite sects which continue in the East to this day with almost as much tenacity of life as the orthodox Greek Church. From the sixth Œcumenical Council (680) dates the Monothelite schism. The Council of Florence (1439) failed to effect a union between the Latin and the Greek Communion. The Council of Trent (1563), instead of healing the split caused by the Reformation, only deepened and perpetuated it by consolidating Romanism and anathematising Evangelical doctrines; and the Vatican Council of 1870 may be hardly more memorable for the dogma of Infallibility than for the secession that followed. At first the secession bade fair to assume much more formidable proportions than was actually the case. No less than eighty-eight bishops voted against the dogma, and had they remained steadfast to their convictions instead of making an

unworthy peace by submission, they might have carried with them many of the most intelligent and influential dioceses in Europe. Several of these opponents of the Infallibility were from other countries besides Germany, but they so far succumbed to pressure that in no country save Germany has the opposition embodied itself in a regularly organised movement. In Germany itself the leadership of the remonstrants has not been accepted by any man of the episcopal order, though there were others beside the Archbishop of Munich whose previous language had pledged them to stand out against the dogma. But next to the Pope, Bishops, from an instinctive fear of losing their power, have always been most hostile to any serious reform. The constitution of the Council itself gave to the Bishops of the Church first the opportunity of doing Christendom good service, but the faith and courage were not forthcoming, and the task soon passed into the hands of others, on whom henceforth the perils and the honours of a great undertaking must devolve.

It was in September, 1873, the third year of its existence, that the Old Catholic movement was consolidated into a distinct Church organisation. It is amongst those coincidences of history that have an interest even for the least imaginative minds, that this took place in that very hall of Constance where, 360 years before, an Œcumenical Council was held which, by deposing two rival Popes and electing another, asserted its superiority over the Papacy, but which, by burning John Huss for teaching Evangelical doctrines, defeated its own professed object of a Reformation of the Church in the head and the members. The immediate occasion of the movement itself is well known. It arose from a protest in the name of conscience, reason, and honest learning, against the Papal Absolutism and Infallibilism of the Vatican Council, and against the obsolete mediævalism of the Papal Syllabus. But like every other event of the kind, it had its remoter causes running far back, and lying deep down in the political, intellectual, and religious life of the people. The development of doctrine within the modern Romish Church has been associated with political strategy of a subtle and complicated sort. It was not sufficient for those who guided the policy of the Vatican to increase the people's burden of belief, but the practical inferences drawn from doctrine have been steadily pushed forward in various directions,

until no department of national life remains which is not claimed as within the jurisdiction of the Pope. The articles of the Syllabus, and the Pope's letter to the Emperor of Germany, in which it is stated that "every one who has been baptized belongs in some way or other to the Pope," precisely illustrate the spirit now, and for some time past, in the ascendant at the Vatican. It may be said, and is doubtless often urged by Protestants, that in all this there is nothing new, that the conclusions recently arrived at lay from the first within the premisses, and that the members of the Roman Catholic Church had no right to be surprised when the Pope and his advisers advanced claims which might at any time have been inferred from the principles generally admitted throughout that communion. And this appears to us to be so far true as to vindicate public opinion among Protestants from the charge often brought against it of bigoted, vulgar inaccuracy. The rough and ready interpretation of Romanism generally current among Protestants has proved to be singularly correct. Both Romish and Protestant authorities have at various times united in denying that the Infallibility of the Pope was any part of Romish doctrine, but the people generally refused to be persuaded, and the Vatican Council has shown that they were right, and the theologians wrong. But while it is perfectly true that the recent development of doctrine might have been logically arrived at long since, it should be borne in mind that there is immense practical difference between a latent and a definite belief, between conclusions that it is possible to draw, and conclusions that have been drawn and dogmatically defined. Most people hold principles which it seems to others ought to lead to such and such conclusions, but which, in practice, are found not to do so. In such cases, however, it is always possible for principles that have been long dormant to begin to operate, and they will then be regarded in a wholly different light from before. So long as the doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility had little or no practical meaning, and was altogether confined to the region of devout sentiment, no Government would care to notice it. But the case was entirely altered when the sentiment hardened into dogma, and was authoritatively promulgated. Henceforth, both in Church and State, it was to mean a very great deal. A disturbing power of enormous, but unknown quantity, was introduced into European affairs, and eager



and impassioned opposition inevitably arose. That Germany should be the arena of conflict, was, for many reasons, to be expected. The character and history of the people might have prepared the spectator for an immediate repudiation of the Papal claims contained in the *Syllabus*, and made ten times more significant by the newly-defined Infallibility. The Protestant element in the nation is much greater than a first glance at the actual Protestant communities would reveal. Resistance to Papal encroachment is a national tradition to which no German can be insensible. Even the dreary circles of advanced Rationalists shared the general feeling. Then the newly formulated claims of the Pope, most unfortunately for their reception, coincided with events that were rousing the self-consciousness of the German people to the highest pitch.

The tremendous successes of the war with France, issuing in the unification of Germany amidst enthusiasm such as is seldom evoked in the course of a nation's life, made it an ill moment for asking submission to the new dogma. Little time was lost, accordingly, in giving unmistakable expression to the national temper, and thus far there has been no sign of faltering in the line of action taken by the Government towards the bishops on the one hand, nor by the leaders of the Old Catholic organisation on the other. It is to this latter that we shall confine our remarks. Immediately upon the adjournment of the Vatican Council in July, 1870, vigorous measures were taken at Rome to ensure submission to the new dogma. Wisely, or unwisely, it was determined that no latitude of opinion could be permitted. If the alternative lay between allowing diversity of thought within the Church, and forcing a schism, the latter was promptly determined upon. Under the pressure of threatened excommunication most of the protesters against the Infallibility gave way, establishing their orthodoxy at a cost to their self-respect, which doubtless varied greatly in different cases. It must, one would think, have been particularly embarrassing to the Archbishop of Munich, after all his brave words, to have to call upon his former tutor, Dr. Döllinger, to submit to the new dogma of Papal Absolutism and Infallibility. Before quoting Dr. Döllinger's reply, it is as well to refer for a few moments to this remarkable man's previous career.

Dr. John Joseph Ignatius von Döllinger was born at

Bamberg, in Bavaria, in 1799. After a careful training in natural science by his father, Döllinger studied theology at Bamberg and Wurzburg, and before completing his twenty-third year was Professor of Church History and Canon Law at Aschaffenburg. He afterwards occupied a similar position in the University of Munich, with which his whole subsequent history has been closely identified. For forty years or more he has possessed the highest reputation as a theologian and a scholar. He is the author, amongst numerous other works, of a *Church History* (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*), a polemic work against the *Reformation*, a *Sketch of Luther*, *Judaism and Heathenism in Relation to Christianity* (*Heidenthum und Judenthum*), *Fables of the Popes of the Middle Ages* (*Die Papst Fabeln des Mittelalters*), &c. Throughout these works the writer, so far from showing any leanings towards Protestantism, was an able and zealous defender of the Romish Church in her controversies with Protestantism. The opposition of so eminent and orthodox a theologian to the dogma of Infallibility was felt by its promoters to be all the more serious from his well-known character as a Conservative Catholic. Had a policy of compromise been possible after the adjournment of the Council, there was not, perhaps, in all Europe a man with whom the authorities at Rome would have been more glad to come to terms quietly. But, as we have said, another policy was adopted, and it was determined, at whatever cost, to secure submission through the whole Church, purging out by excommunication those who were unable or unwilling to accept this last addition to their creed. Accordingly, the Archbishop of Munich, having gone through the process of reconciling himself to a dogma that he had at first strenuously opposed, demanded Dr. Döllinger's submission. The reply which he received contains the following passage, which will remind the reader of Luther's bold and defiant refusal at Worms to retract his writings unless convicted of error from Scripture and reason :—

“ As a Christian, as a theologian, as a historian, as a citizen, I cannot receive this doctrine. *Not as a Christian*—for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel, and with the direct teaching of Christ and His Apostles ; it will establish the kingdom of this world which Christ refused, and a power over the Churches which Peter disclaimed for himself and for all other men. *Not as a theologian*,—for all genuine traditions of the Church stand

diametrically opposed to it. *Not as a historian* can I receive it, —for as such I know that the constant endeavour to realise this theory has cost Europe streams of blood, has led astray and overthrown whole nations, has shaken the constitutional organisation of ancient Churches, and has bred, nourished, and retained the worst of evils in the Church. Finally, *as a citizen*, I must cast it from me, because, by its claim to subject the State, the monarch, and the whole of the political body to the power of the Pope, it lays the foundation for endless and hurtful contentions between Church and State, and between the laity and the clergy; for I cannot hide from myself the fact that this doctrine, the effects of which overthrew the old German Empire, should it gain dominion over the Catholic part of the German nation, will plant in the newly-erected kingdom the seed of an incurable disease."

The letter from which the above is an extract was dated March 28th, 1871, and on the 17th of April Döllinger was excommunicated as being guilty of the crime of "open and formal heresy" (*crimen hæreseos externæ et formalis*). The battle was now fairly begun. Döllinger's colleague, Professor Friedrich, incurred the same fate. Other bishops, forgetting their own recent change of conviction, followed the Archbishop of Munich's example, and proceeded with similar vigour against refractory priests. Cardinal Rauscher suspended the Lent Preacher, Pederzani; Cardinal Schwarzenberg Professor Pelleter (who afterwards became a Protestant); Bishop Förster (whose offer to resign was refused by the Pope) suspended Professors Reinkens, Baltzer, and Weber, of Breslau; the Bishop of Ermeland Professors Michelis and Menzel, and Dr. Wollmann, in Braunsberg; the Archbishop of Cologne deposed the priest, Dr. Tangermann, of Cologne, and suspended Professors Hilgers, Reusch, Langen, and Knoodt, of Bonn, who, however, supported by the Prussian Government, retained their official positions in the University.

While these excommunications and depositions were going on, it is not to be supposed that the dignitaries who had withdrawn their opposition to the dogma escaped altogether the criticism of their more consistent brethren. No one had opposed the Infallibility more strongly than the Abbé Gratry. In making his submission to the Archbishop of Paris he wrote thus :—

"Like all my brethren of the priesthood, I accept the decrees of the Council of the Vatican. Anything which, before that decision, I may have written upon that subject which is contrary to those

decrees I efface (*je l'efface*). May I beg you, monseigneur, to send me your benediction."

Doubtless this benediction was in due time received, but whether it would outweigh in the Abbé's mind such reproaches as the following, which he received from Father Hyacinthe, is quite another thing:—

"Permit me to remark to you that when a man has written such effective letters as those you recently published, he can hardly dispose of them afterwards by an ingenuous statement that he 'effaces' them. It would require that the luminous and melancholy traces which they have left in our minds should also be effaced by an equally light hand. What, my reverend father! it is barely a few months since you rose up suddenly like a prophet in the confusion of Israel, and you assured us that you had received orders from God, and that to fulfil them you were prepared to suffer whatever might be required. You wrote that demonstration, as logical as it was eloquent, which may have been ridiculed, but could not be refuted; and, after having established by fact that the question of Infallibility is a cankering question—it is your own expression—you uttered in your holy indignation that cry, which still resounds, "*Num quid Deus indiget mendacio vestro?*" (What need has God of your falsehoods?) And now to-day, before so many consciences which you have disturbed and left in suspense, you content yourself with writing to your bishop in an easy, off-hand style, which both surprises and saddens."

Dr. Dollinger found himself abundantly sustained in his position, and was soon at the head of a numerous and powerful body. From every side addresses poured in upon him expressing sympathy with the stand he was making, and concurrence in his views. He was joined by Professors Friedrich and Huber, both of his own University of Munich, and by Dr. Schulte, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Prague. Friedrich is the youngest of all the leaders of the Old Catholic movement, being only thirty-seven years of age. As theologian to Cardinal Hohenlohe he attended the Vatican Council, and has since published a work in two volumes (*Documenta ad Illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum*) whose subject is sufficiently indicated by its title, as well as a *Diary* which gives a view of the inner life of the Council.

Huber, Professor of Philosophy at Munich, and author of works on the *Philosophy of the Fathers*, on *Jesuitism*, and against the last book of Strauss on *The Old and the New Faith*, was, it is generally understood, joint author with

Döllinger of *Janus*. He is a layman, bold, energetic, and business-like; described by one who was present at the Congress of Cologne as "a little dark fiery man, whose words are sharp arrows."

From what has been said it is evident that at the beginning the Old Catholic movement might be described as a "revolt of Professors." This fact was both its strength and its weakness. The position of its leaders in relation to German literature and philosophy is such that their action could hardly fail to be of national importance. The movement at once enlisted the sympathies of the educated, and the profound attention of the upper and governing classes of the country. Seldom has the Papal authority had to deal with a body of recusants more formidable for their learning, their acquaintance with ecclesiastical law and history, and their influence with the most cultivated part of the community.

If the questions at issue between the Vatican and the Old Catholic leaders were nothing more than a scholastic controversy, in which the genuineness, say, of the *Epistles* of Phalaris or the *Decretals* of Isidore was at stake, then Dr. Döllinger and his colleagues might be safely left alone, while the scholars of different nations would be a jury, from whose verdict of proven or not proven there could be no appeal. In such a case the more effectually every element of popular feeling was excluded the better. But controversies with the Church of Rome are not of this kind, and never can be. To suppose for a moment that any doctor or theologian, or any number of such, is at liberty to question, to criticise, to do anything but accept the decisions of the Papal Chair, is to misunderstand the spirit and traditions of the Roman Church. As was remarked by Dr. Von Ranke, the well-known author of *The History of the Popes*, "Rome cares little about Professors."

If in the first instance a dogma is authoritatively affirmed because it is, or is supposed to be, true, afterwards it must be held to be true because it has been affirmed. Whatever doubt or uncertainty belonged to it up to the moment when Rome speaks, there can be none afterwards. Truth is truth, not by demonstration, or by internal evidence, or by Scripture warrant, but by authority. To the Roman Catholic mind, where it is yet consistent, there is something not merely shocking but absurd in the position of those who, professing to be Catholics, advance reasons of any

kind whatever against a Catholic doctrine. The doctrine of the Infallibility, for example, is to be believed, not upon evidence, or for its reasonableness, but upon the authority of the Vatican Council, so that all the reasons in the world against it are quite irrelevant.

There was, therefore, in the position assumed by Dr. Döllinger something illogical, which was perceived both by his friends and his enemies. He made it plain that he did not wish to break with the Church. He had no quarrel with it prior to the Vatican Council, and while maintaining a fearless protest against the conduct of the latter, feared anything that looked like an act of separation from the Church. It was not to the principle of authority in matters of religion, as exercised at Rome, that he objected, but only to this particular instance of it. From the Ultramontane side, therefore, Dr. Döllinger was open to a charge of inconsistency, to which it was not very easy to reply. 'By what possible right could he, still calling himself Catholic, revolt at discretion against single Catholic doctrines? This was of the very essence of that hateful thing Protestantism, against which he had fought the learned campaign of a life-time. This way of picking and choosing his obedience was, as he must know, wholly un-Catholic.' To Protestants, on the other hand, it was manifest that unless broader ground were taken no great thing could come of Dr. Döllinger's protest, and of the movement that it inaugurated. It has been well said that the Infallibility of the Pope is the logical landing-place of the Roman system. The attitude of those who accepted the whole body of Papal pretension, with the exception of the Infallibility, was cleverly expressed, in a satirical form, in one of the public prints. "I am quite convinced," Dr. Döllinger was made to say, "that twice two make five, but I will never allow myself to be persuaded that twice two make six." The middle position contemplated by Dr. Döllinger, the most conservative amongst the eminent men we have named, and the mild, literary warfare most congenial to his temperament, were plainly impossible. Those who hoped for any great result, looked for it not in the original programme of the movement, nor in the character of its distinguished leader, but in the development of principles and widening of issues that was almost sure to come. Especially was it to be hoped that the popular element would be more largely infused by-and-by, and the enthu-



siasm of the people attracted to a cause no longer confined within any false limits.

The question of Papal Infallibility may well prove to be the occasion of a deep and far-reaching insurrection against Papal authority, but in itself it has no such direct practical bearing as the questions which made the Reformation spread with irresistible power over all Western Christendom. The masses of Roman Catholics are either too ignorant or too indifferent to care much whether another dogma is added to the large number already adopted, and have no more difficulty in believing in Papal Infallibility than in the daily miracle of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass. If men's hearts are to be moved in any considerable degree, the questions relating to personal salvation must assume the prominence that is due to them. The pursuit of great truths is needful as well as the destruction of great errors, and then, from an ecclesiastical controversy to a profound religious movement, the transition is soon made.

At the first Congress, held in Munich in September, 1871, the doctrinal status of the Old Catholic party was set forth in a document drawn up under the guidance of Dr. Döllinger. It will be seen from the following extracts that the original programme was very conservative, the dread of separating from the Church being yet fresh and strong in the minds of its authors:—

“We hold fast to the Catholic faith as certified by Scripture and tradition, and to the Old Catholic forms of worship. We regard ourselves as legitimate members of the Catholic Church, and will not be expelled from that Church, nor do we renounce any of the civil or ecclesiastical rights belonging to it. . . . Taking our stand upon the creed contained in the symbolism of Trent, we reject the new dogmas enacted under the pontificate of Pius IX. as contrary to the doctrine of the Church, and to the principles which have prevailed since the first Council was assembled by the Apostles: we more especially reject the dogma of Infallibility, and of the supreme, immediate, and ever-enduring jurisdiction of the Pope.

“We hold fast to the old constitution of the Church, and reject every attempt to deprive the bishops of their diocesan independence. We acknowledge the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, on the ground of the Fathers and Councils of the undivided Church of antiquity; but we deny the right of the Pope to define any article of faith, except in agreement with the Holy Scriptures and the ancient and unanimous tradition of the Church.”

Perhaps the most important of these propositions are of a practical character, including the following reforms amongst others :—

“Compulsory celibacy must cease. Priests shall be allowed to marry, as in the early times of Christianity. . . . Masses and the service of the Church must be spoken and read in German, or in the common language of the province. . . . Auricular confession must cease. . . . The worship of pictures, statues, and images must cease.”

Lastly, despite, it is said, the strong opposition of Döllinger, it was resolved to hold the sentence of excommunication pronounced on them by Rome as null, to form separate congregations, and in due course to import a regular episcopal jurisdiction from some foreign quarter.

It is not necessary to point out in detail the logical inconsistencies of this programme. The first resolution, in which the Old Catholics claim to be “legitimate members of the Catholic Church standing upon the Tridentine Creed,” is practically contradicted by many of the succeeding ones. “Tridentine” Romanism, defying the Papal chair, claiming the abolition of priestly celibacy and of auricular confession, and “asserting the right of Catholic clergy and laity, as well as of theological scholars, to pronounce an opinion upon and protest against new dogmas,” is an altogether impossible and inconceivable thing. The majority of the proposals contained in the Old Catholic programme could no more have been permitted by the Council of Trent than by the Vatican Council, and the spirit of resistance embodied in them would have been anathematised as certainly in the one case as in the other. But, granting the possibility of a reformation from *Vatican Romanism* to *Tridentine Romanism*, why should it stop there? Would it be possible for it to stop there? *Tridentine Romanism* is as much an innovation on primitive Catholicism as the *Vatican Romanism* is on that of Trent, and both are innovations in the same direction, the development and consolidation of the principle of authority. Unless the spirit which has given rise to the Old Catholic movement dies down again, there can be no such finality in its reforms as its first learned and moderate leaders desire. The Vatican Council has at least as good a right to be called Ecumenical as that of Trent, and yet, say the Old Catholics, it has sanctioned error, as can be demonstrated by appeal to Church history and principles, and to Scripture.

That being so, the application of the same tests to the decrees of the Council of Trent may reveal a similar state of things. When once the appeal is made to history, right, reason, and Scriptural principles, the creed of Pius IV. can claim no more immunity than that of Pius IX.

There was, then, a consistency which it is only fair to notice in the conduct of the Ultramontane leaders. What patience could they show towards men still calling themselves Catholic, making their appeal to Tridentine standards, and yet exercising private judgment with regard to the decision of an Œcumenical Council? Rome knows herself and her traditions too well to allow such a free rendering of the obedience of faith as this.

In the August of last year a most important step was taken in the development and organisation of the Old Catholic movement. It will be supposed from what has been already said of the conservative character of their leaders, that the Old Catholics were not prepared to count Episcopal orders a matter indifferent. From their point of view it was absolutely essential that Churchly succession should be preserved by means of a properly consecrated Episcopacy. Accordingly Professor Joseph Hubert Reinkens was elected Bishop by the clergy and the representatives of the laity, and consecrated at Rotterdam by Bishop Heykamp of Deventer (August 11, 1873). Bishop Reinkens is well fitted for the kind of leadership that now devolves upon him. He is in the prime of life, distinguished as a scholar, and very popular both as a preacher and a public speaker. He is described as a powerful man, standing quite six feet in height, with a clear musical voice and a genial benignant face. In his speeches there is much humour and pleasant sarcasm, qualities, it need hardly be said, of great value to a popular leader. In the pastoral letter issued immediately after his consecration, Bishop Reinkens disclaims all hierarchical ambition, vain show and display, and promises to exercise his office in the spirit of Apostolic simplicity as a pastor of the flock. He lays great stress on the primitive Catholic mode of his election by the clergy and people, as contrasted with the modern election by the Pope. He claims to stand in the rank of Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and those thousands of bishops who never were elected by the Pope, or even known to him, and yet are recognised as truly Catholic bishops.

The Congress held at Constance in the month following the consecration of Bishop Reinkens serves to mark the progress made during the two years that had intervened since the Congress of Munich. Among the most notable utterances was that of Reinkens himself, who disowned all Romish prohibitions of Bible-reading, and earnestly exhorted the laity to become readers of the Scripture. We give a few extracts from this address, which was delivered in the famous Council Hall of Constance, and received with great applause by the crowded assembly :—

"The Holy Scripture is the reflection of the Sun of Righteousness which appeared in Jesus Christ our Lord. I say, therefore, Read the holy Scriptures. I say more : *For the Old Catholics who intrust themselves to my episcopal direction, there exists no prohibition of the reading of the Bible.* . . . Let nothing hinder you from approaching the Gospel, that you may hear the voice of the Bridegroom (John iii. 29). Listen to His voice, and remember that, as the flower turns to the light, and never unfolds all its splendour and beauty except by constantly turning to the light of the sun, thus also the Christian's soul cannot represent the full beauty and glory of its Divine likeness except by constantly turning to this Gospel, in the rays of which its own fire is kindled. . . . Do not read the Scriptures from curiosity, to find things which are not to be revealed in this world ; nor presumptuously, to brood over things which cannot be explained by men ; nor for the sake of controversy, to refute others ; but read the Scriptures to enter into the most intimate communion with God, so that you may be able to say, Nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ. . . . It is not sufficient to have the Bible in every house, and to read it at certain hours in a formal and fragmentary manner, but it ought to be the light of the soul, to which it turns again and again. I repeat it once more : For the Old Catholics, no injunction exists against reading the Bible. On the contrary, I admonish you most earnestly : Read again and again in this holy book, sitting down in humility and joy at the feet of the Lord, *for He alone has words of eternal life.*"

The Congress at Constance adopted a synodical and parochial constitution, which makes full provision for giving the laity an equal share with the clergy in the government of the Church ; the synodical representation (*Synodal Repräsentanz*), or Executive Committee, being composed of five laymen and five clergymen, including the Bishop. This implies the Protestant principle of the general priesthood of believers, and is an arrangement pregnant with many consequences. There are, indeed,

many signs that the Old Catholic movement is fairly committed to a line of development which will lead to enlarged views, wider sympathies, and a doctrinal standing freer and truer than that originally selected. As Protestants, we watch with deep interest and sympathy the rise of a new Protestantism. We may not unreasonably hope that it will, in some important points, resemble the Protestantism with which we are so familiar, but we must be prepared to look with a wise and tolerant charity upon the points of difference. If the Old Catholic leaders were even disposed to imitate the Reformation leaders of three centuries ago, it would be impossible for them to do so. The issues involved may be fundamentally the same, but, almost all the conditions of the contest are altered. In all probability the Old Catholics will not, under the most favourable view of the case, be assimilated by any type of now existing Protestantism. They are much more likely to produce a new type, and contribute, let us hope, a new element of strength to the Christian world. If, on the one hand, we wish to see a stronger resemblance in the present movement to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, it is not too much, on the other hand, to hope that the errors of that time may not be repeated. The Old Catholics shrink thus far from adopting the Protestant name, and falling into the ranks of Protestant communities. Perhaps this ought not to be expected from them, scarcely conscious at present of the significance of their own principles and line of action, but their attitude towards the non-Roman Catholic world is wholly different from that of the Romish Church itself. It is well known, for example, that Rome has but one theory concerning the unity of Christendom; claiming to be infallible, and hence irreformable, it cannot make concessions, nor treat on other terms than the absolute submission and absorption of other Churches. With this may be compared the language of a letter from the Congress of Constance, September, 1873, to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in New York:—

“ We hope and strive for the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church. We frankly acknowledge that no branch of it has exclusively the truth. We hold fast to the ultimate view that upon the foundation of the Gospel, and the doctrines of the Church grounded upon it, and upon the foundation of the ancient, undivided Church, a union of all Christian confessions will be

possible through a really Ecumenical Council. This is our object and intention in the movement which has led us into close relations with the Evangelical, the Anglican, the Anglo-American, the Russian, and the Greek Churches. We know that this goal cannot easily be reached, but we see the primary evidences of success in the circumstance that a truly Christian intercourse has already taken place between ourselves and other Christian Churches. Therefore we seize with joy the hand of fellowship you have extended to us, and beg you to enter into a more intimate fellowship with us in such a way as may be agreed upon by both parties."

We think it may now be assumed that a return of the Old Catholics to the Papacy is impossible: the bridge is broken behind them; they must go forward. In saying this, we do not forget how immensely powerful the Church of Rome has shown herself before in arresting and repressing attempts toward reformation. There could hardly be a better instance of this than the way in which the protesting minority of the Vatican Council succumbed to pressure, until, of the eighty-eight bishops who had voted against the dogma of Infallibility, hardly one remained with the courage of his opinions. But since then the contest has widened; from a question of a somewhat abstruse and technical kind, it has become a conflict that the people can understand, loosing itself more and more from its first narrow limits, and including many of the questions that most powerfully affect the heart. It is also a strife for civil rights and intellectual emancipation, and may be regarded as part of a still greater conflict in which the Emperor of Germany and Prince Bismarck are as deeply interested as any of the clerical leaders we have named.

The Pope himself has cut off all prospect of a reconciliation with the Old Catholics. In his Encyclical of November 21st, 1873, addressed to all the dignitaries of the Roman Church, Pius IX., after unsparingly denouncing the Governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, for their cruel persecution of the Church, as he styles their measures of self-defence against Ultramontane pretensions, speaks at length of "those new heretics, who, by a truly ridiculous abuse of the name, call themselves Old Catholics," and launches on their "pseudo-bishop," and all his abettors and helpers, the sentence of excommunication, as follows:—

"The attempts and the aims of these unhappy sons of perdition appear plainly, both from other writings of theirs and most of all



from that impious and most impudent of documents which has lately been published by him whom they have set up for themselves as their so-called bishop. For they deny and pervert the true authority of jurisdiction which is in the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops, the successors of the Blessed Peter and the Apostles, and transfer it to the populace, or, as they say, to the community; they stubbornly reject and assail the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff and of the whole Church; and, contrary to the Holy Spirit, who has been promised by Christ to abide in His Church for ever, they audaciously affirm that the Roman Pontiff and the whole of the Bishops, priests, and people who are united with him in one faith and communion, have fallen into heresy by sanctioning and professing the definitions of the Œcumenical Vatican Council. Therefore they deny even the indefectibility of the Church, blasphemously saying that it has perished throughout the world, and that its visible head and its Bishops have fallen away; and that for this reason it has been necessary for them to restore the lawful Episcopate in their pseudo-bishop, a man who, entering not by the gate, but coming up by another way, has drawn upon his head the condemnation of Christ.

“Nevertheless, those unhappy men who would undermine the foundations of the Catholic religion, and destroy its character and endowments, who have invented such shameful and manifold errors, or, rather, have collected them from the old store of heretics, are not ashamed to call themselves Catholics, and Old Catholics; while by their doctrine, their novelty, and their fewness they give up all mark of antiquity and of catholicity. . . .

“But these men, going on more boldly in the way of iniquity and perdition, as by a just judgment of God it happens to heretical sects, have wished also to form to themselves a hierarchy, as we have said, and have chosen and set up for themselves as their pseudo-bishop a certain notorious apostate from the Catholic faith, Joseph Hubert Reinkens; and, that nothing might be wanting to their impudence, for his consecration they have had recourse to those Jansenists of Utrecht whom they themselves, before their falling away from the Church, regarded with other Catholics as heretics and schismatics. Nevertheless this Joseph Hubert Reinkens dares to call himself a bishop, and, incredible as it may seem, the most serene Emperor of Germany has by public decree named and acknowledged him as a Catholic bishop, and exhibited him to all his subjects as one who is to be regarded as a lawful bishop, and as such to be obeyed. But the very rudiments of Catholic teaching declare that no one can be held to be a lawful bishop who is not joined in communion of faith and charity to the rock on which the one Church of Christ is built; who does not adhere to the supreme pastor to whom all the sheep of Christ are committed to be fed; who is not united to the confirmer of the brotherhood which is in

the world." [This cuts off all Greek bishops as well. Then follow the usual patristic texts for the pretensions of Rome.]

"We, therefore, who have been placed, undeserving as we are, in the Supreme See of Peter for the guardianship of the Catholic faith, and for the maintenance of the unity of the universal Church, according to the custom and example of our predecessors and their holy decrees, by the power given us from on high, not only declare the election of the said Joseph Hubert Reinkens to be contrary to the holy canons, unlawful, and altogether null and void, and denounce and condemn his consecration as sacrilegious; but by the authority of Almighty God we declare the said Joseph Hubert—together with those who have taken part in his election and sacrilegious consecration, and whoever adhere to and follow the same, giving aid, favour, or consent—excommunicated under anathema, separated from the communion of the Church, and to be reckoned among those whose fellowship has been forbidden to the faithful by the Apostle, so that they are not so much as to say to them, God speed you!"

This Encyclical was met by an able, dignified, and manly Pastoral from Bishop Reinkens, dated Bonn, December 13th, 1873. Its language is in admirable contrast with that just quoted. After refuting the accusations of the Pope, he closes with the following words:—

"Brethren in the Lord, what shall we do when Pius IX. exhausts the language of reproach and calumny, and calls us even most miserable sons of perdition (*miserrimi isti perditionis filii*) to embitter the uninquiring multitude against us? If we are true disciples of Jesus—as we trust—we have that peace which the Lord gives, and not the world, and our heart will not be troubled, neither be afraid. How sweetly sounds the exhortation: 'Bless them which persecute you; bless, and curse not.' 'Recompense to no man evil for evil.' 'If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.' 'Love ye your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.' Let us look up to Christ, our example, 'who, when He was reviled, reviled not again.' The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

In September, 1873, the Old Catholics in the German Empire numbered about one hundred congregations (mostly in Prussia, Baden, and Bavaria), forty priests, and 50,000 professed members. Since their more complete organisa-

tion they have made still more rapid progress. At the Congress held in Freiburg a few weeks ago, Bishop Reinken welcomed the foreign delegates "in the name of one hundred thousand Old Catholics." What this movement will ultimately come to cannot yet be confidently said, but the signs of true life and growth are in it. The Protestant communities of the world watch its development with profound interest, thinking they recognise the presence of the same spirit that moved within their fathers. It is something if it help to break up the false and tyrannous unity of the Papacy, but it will be much more if, as we trust, in addition to maintaining a great ecclesiastical quarrel, it comes to possess in larger measure the positive qualities that constitute Revival and Reformation.

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## LITERARY NOTICES.

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*Heterodox London: or Phases of Free Thought in the Metropolis.* By Rev. C. Maurice Davies, D.D., Author of "Orthodox" and "Unorthodox London," &c. 2 vols. Tinsley. 1874.

If a clergyman of the Establishment, a member of one of the older Universities, chooses to devote himself to wandering among the obscure sects of the metropolis, and sees fit to chronicle what he saw and heard, first in daily newspapers and then in two big volumes, we make no objection. Possibly under a better organised system the bishops might have found better work for a D.D., presumably eloquent, and certainly ready with his pen. That, however, is their business. Ours is to protest against these two volumes *in toto*, as a wholly unbearable sample of padding, flavoured with deadly-lively "own correspondent's" jokes. No doubt, Dr. Davies approves his work to his own conscience; his motto is, "Hold fast that which is good;" and chemists and analysers have to "prove" even the most ugly and unsavoury matters, and to see whether they can be brought under other forms, or in any way "utilised." But the general public do not care to push into the laboratory or deodorising shed; nor can it be wise to introduce them to the moral garbage which must always be found among three millions of people absolutely unchecked in their "right of private judgment." There is much to be said in favour of the old custom of writing necessary works unsuited to the general reader in Latin. The late Dr. Donaldson's "Book of Jasher" was read by those whom it concerned, but has remained unread by those who have no special training in such subjects. We are not advising Dr. Davies to call in and translate his *Heterodox London*; the result, if at all well done, would be as interesting as any modern Latin since Buchanan's day, but simply as a piece of Latin; for its own sake the book was not worth writing at all.

That such books are put together is one of the evils of the penny press. It has become a necessity of life to have so many columns full of something; if there is a battle, or a murder, or a great fire, so much the better. If not, "our correspondent" is told off to give for the tenth time the humours of the Derby day,

or a "cabman's tea," or a "soirée in a thieves' kitchen." How many of those who buy the paper read the stuff which is in this way daily pumped out in washy floods from the brains of "specials" *aux abois*? How much good comes of such reading? How much harm, rather, and debasement of everything to the fifth-rate magazine level; so that it is becoming essential to be, or to try to be, either "funny" or gushing, if one would get a hearing on any matter whatsoever? But the main evil of a book like this of Dr. Davies is the undue prominence which it gives to nobodies, and their very unimportant opinions. What a thing for the "South London Secular Society," which meets opposite the Surrey Theatre, or for the "Hackney Secular Propagandist Society," whose location we will let Dr. Davies describe in his own jauntily elegant style:—"Out of Goldsmith's-row, which is slummy, just past the almshouses, turns a court which is slummier still; and Perseverance Hall is the slummiest of all"—what a thing, we say, for these people to get their doings and sayings put on record in the *Manchester Evening News* or the *Scottish Guardian*, and to feel that they were actually becoming notorious among the longheaded and money-making men of the North. If Dr. Davies held a brief for "heterodox" (as he calls it), he could not take a better way of encouraging it. Of course his "mission" was recognised; each new infidel lecturer was more anxious than the last to hand his MS. to one who could give him such a brilliant advertisement; and hence we have two volumes of what, even had it been a desirable thing to write at all, might easily have been packed into a quarter its present size—eight hundred pages, made up chiefly of lectures, sermons, and programmes, from Mr. Voysey's *Gospel of Hell Fire* to Mr. Bradlaugh's *Letter to the Prince of Wales*! Well, we had Mr. Hepworth Dixon edifying the public with details which the *Pall Mall Gazette* considered prurient, about spiritual wives and such like American doctrines. Thinking people, in America and elsewhere, felt that, pruriency apart, Mr. Dixon was wrong in making so much of what was utterly insignificant, in writing as if American society was saturated with what a man might live years in the States without even discovering. Dr. Davies' fault is just the same. We surely would not cry, "peace where there is no peace;" we would not conceal from ourselves or others the existence of a lamentable amount of infidelity; but we maintain that it does harm, and not good, to give sentiments which are confined to a very few a factitious importance. The *National Reformer* makes a noise quite disproportioned to the number of its adherents; and it is distinctly unadvisable for an outsider to supplement its noise by amateur trumpeting. So much by way of showing our objection to the whole scope of the book; with its style and manner we must find equal fault. Dr. Davies writes

like a "special" of the *Daily Telegraph*; and such writing, on such subjects, we take to be, at least, in bad taste. It may be witty, but it is scarcely relevant, to end a long account (42 pp.) of the Dialectical Society's views on cremation by remarking, "To make everything *comme il faut*, it only remains that Mr. Soures and Miss Miller should immolate themselves à la Sardanapalus and Myrrha on the first pyre," especially when, two pages before, the writer had volunteered the astounding information that—"As we lighted our cigars in the lobby, the prevailing opinion seemed to be that Mr. Soures ought to offer himself then and there for instant incremation." And this stuff is popular; and Dr. Davies apologises for his "padding," by saying he was so worried for "more copy," that he was at last literally racing the press to bring the work to its conclusion." To call such a palpable "make-up" "a collection of pen-and-ink portraits of men who are influencing the tone of current thought, and leaving their mark on our day and generation," is surely to use a gross misnomer. Dr. Davies' small joking deserves to be called pen-and-ink portrait painting about as much as Mr. Antill, the "advanced Unitarian, who lectures in an underground dancing-room by a Metropolitan railway station, and Mr. Myles M'Swiney, who, opposite the Surrey Theatre, proves Christ to be a "solar myth," deserve to be called men who are leaving their mark on our day. And now for a little about the book itself. First, at South-place, Finsbury, Dr. Davies hears Mr. Conway, "in the garb of ordinary existence" (probably a "correspondential" for "without gown or surplice"), descant on Mr. Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*, an extract from which he reads immediately after a "lesson" from St. John's Gospel, and declare that Christianity is decaying (as all religions have decayed before it), and that its forms and dogmas have become so hard as to be galling both to heart and brain. "Remorseless Nemesis pursues and overtakes each great teacher in turn. Luther, Fox, Wesley—their heroic hearts now label a mass of dead forms and decorous conventionalities essentially the same as those that awakened their scattering thunders." Mr. Conway is thorough; he believes that "the life or death of liberal organisations will depend on their ability to surrender that last idol, the Christian name, to which they have no honest right;" and certainly, if he is a fair exponent of his congregation's views, the sooner they give up the name the better.

Next Sunday Dr. Davies was free; "a new curate was to be trotted out" (we should explain that he was a London curate, and that his experience of heterodoxy made him, he says, "less dogmatic in the pulpit"), so he goes to hear Dr. Perfitt at Edward Irving's old chapel in Newman-street. One good remark he certainly does hear, which it were well if all of Dr. Davies' fellow Churchmen would take to heart, that "five words spoken



from the heart are better than a thousand smelling of the oil. Jesus Christ did not read His Sermon on the Mount." Dr. Perfitt's programme, too, implies an amount of work which very few "parsons" could match. He gave a "topic" and a "discourse," each equal in length to the average sermon, and both original enough, in whatever else they were wanting.

How Mr. Revell, Independent minister, sliding into Unitarianism, was offended because "you may teach Plato for what he is worth, but you must not teach Paul for what he is worth;" how the same gentleman thought that the Church of England had a notion she can innocently wink at her children's disbelief of the thirty-nine Articles because she finds it written, "the times of this ignorance God winked at," it is scarcely worth while to mention. One remark is worth putting on record; we heartily wish all freethinkers would take it to heart:—"The demand, 'Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience' is not necessarily legitimate or to be granted as it stands. Before I can fairly make such a demand, I must have a conscience to know, to utter, and to argue according to truth, according to verified fact, according to legitimate methods of research and proof, and according to righteousness." Such limitations, strictly adopted, would stop the mouths of many of the most blatant of our apostles of progress. Mr. Revell, again, is quite right in asserting that "truth is for our short life a better thing than freedom to judge as one pleases;" his difficulty, like that of all who desert the Law and the Testimony, being how to find an universally applicable criterion of truth.

There is something in Mr. Revell; but what, save the insatiable appetite of copy-devouring publishers could prompt Mr. Davies to devote thirty pages on Humanitarians of Pentonville, giving us not only the "lecture" (on Socrates), but the rules of the body, and especially the whole marriage service, as by them remodelled? We may remark that bridegroom, as well as bride, receives a ring, "both as a remembrance and as a protection to yourself and others from temptations;" and that at the outset each is asked the question (very pertinent if asked of the relations on each side), "Do you believe yourself capable of maintaining a family?" The Metempsychosis is the Humanitarian way of solving "the riddle of this painful earth;" but, as the audience numbered two, the opinions of the sect scarcely deserved to be stereotyped at such length.

We are comforted to think that the "Liberal Social Union," while asserting *intellectual*, is not quite prepared to go in for *moral* freedom; "*morals* mean *manners*, and we must stand on the accepted manners of the age or community in which we live." Rather a shifting foundation, but still *terra firma* itself compared with the chaos in which some propose to leave us.

No doubt there is good grain to be picked out from the chaff and husks which Dr. Davies chose for his Sunday fare : this, for instance, is sound truth, though spoken at a gathering of the Sunday League :—" We must not blame the labouring classes for their grossness so much as we must blame the bad foundation laid by ignorance and neglect, which has incapacitated their minds for pleasures of a higher order."

But to interview Mormon elders, to listen to Unitarians, advanced ritualistic and moderate, and to hold the balance between Mr. Holyoake and Mr. Bradlaugh, must be weary work, even for the sake of affording *pabulum* to Glasgow and Manchester, and meeting the calls of greedy publishers. It is certainly weary work to read the result embodied in these two big volumes, and we cannot but think that a book which gives uncalled-for prominence to obscure sects had better not have been written. If written at all, it should certainly not have been written in the style which Dr. Davies has chosen. We cannot understand a writer who on one page enunciates Mr. Voysey's tremendous *dictum*, that " the old religion is passing away ; its corruptions have at last begun to yield under the pressure of a thousand modern Elijahs ;" and on another (or rather on several others) descants on the personal charms of Madame Ronniger, lectress to the Sunday League, and speculates what her audience would be if she resembled " one of those venerable dowagers who affect the ladies' compartment of the British Museum Reading Room." Mr. Voysey (we may remark) is placed next to the Mormon Elder. We hope he appreciates his position.

Of Dr. Davies's second volume we will only say that it contains samples of the Bradlaugh Litany and other matters with which a Christian had best not have meddled, even though his publishers were never so impatient.

We have felt it necessary to say out what we feel, for we feel strongly on the subject. Dr. Davies's former books, *Orthodox and Unorthodox London*, were not altogether to our taste ; far from it, for we object *in toto* to see such matters so dealt with. A joker of jokes is not (we hold) the fit person to describe our sects and their worship. But at least the matters with which they dealt were harmless. We wish we could believe the same of this magnifying the vagaries of what our author calls heterodoxy.

*Health and Education.* By the Rev. Charles Kingsley, F.L.S., F.G.S., Canon of Westminster. London : Macmillan. 1874.

SOME people think the Rector of Eversley is a sounder physician than he is a theologian. Whether or not, one thing is certain, while of good sermon-writers there is no lack, but rather

a too-abundant supply, he is almost the only man who has taken in hand to illustrate and enforce the laws of life with that liveliness of style wherewith he makes attractive whatsoever he deals with.

Mr. Kingsley's style is his great charm. There is little new in most of these essays and lectures; nearly all of them are reprints from popular magazines; yet few will take up *Health and Education* without reading it through, no matter if they have read good part of it before, and heard in other language many of the facts which it contains. His style is his own, though *soupeçons* now of Dickens, now of Maurice, now of Carlyle (much toned down) seem to float in on us as we read; and it is a style which has the power of making the old new and the commonplace interesting. The only fear is lest, like so much that the Canon deprecates in our complex modern life, it may do us harm,—weaken our intellectual fibre by reason of its very attractiveness. Who will study the science of health in a dry treatise, when he (or, still more, she) can get up general notions about it in Canon Kingsley's essays? Who that is accustomed to the highly-gilded pill, will care to go back to the medicine pure and simple? The fault of our time is that not only must learning be made easy, it must be made enticing.

However, a great many will read Kingsley who would read nobody else; and if of these a few only are induced to act out the rules which he lays down, the world will certainly be the better: for there is need of action. The question with which his book begins—"Is the British race improving or degenerating?"—is a serious one. War, of course, by killing off the young and strong, brings about directly the *survival of the unfittest*; but our modern care of life keeps alive those who, in a physical sense, are fittest to die; and the unhealthy habits, the overcrowdings, the want of all arrangements to meet the vast sudden increase of population, threaten evils which this generation will not feel, but which, unless they are remedied, will surely be felt by those that come after. Why the middle class has come to the front so remarkably is (says our author) because of its greater physical power. Business-men escaped decimation during the long French war; hence we see far more stalwart men on Liverpool 'Change and even behind Liverpool counters than at the plough tail. A little inconsistent with this is the confession that "an average Northumbrian, or Highlander, or Irish Easterling could drive five average shopkeepers over a cliff with his bare hands." But the Canon is quite right, if he means that "business," carried on amid healthy surroundings and without undue excitement, is healthier a great deal than work of brain: the thing is, will the grandchildren of these stout healthy traders be up to their grandfathers' health standard? and this will depend on the surroundings in which generation after generation work and live.

Sanitary reform, then ; a public school of health, with popular lectures, in every large town ; water, gas, and railroads, not managed by companies, but by the State ; chignons, and high-heeled boots, and "the Grecian bend" (Canon Kingsley is amusingly indignant at the absurd misnomer), and tight stays abolished by Act of Parliament ;—all this our author looks forward to, "when the world is a little more like the kingdom of the Father in Heaven." In fact, he is as "muscular" as ever, though he puts muscularity on a broader basis, and would fain include the toiling millions as curates and curate-worshippers. Into the schoolroom, too, he would introduce great changes. Sitting bolt upright is bad for young people, "lolling" is healthy and (as Greek bas-reliefs show us) most graceful ; silence, also, is for children grievously unhealthy. Parents should rejoice in the crying, shouting, screaming of young lungs : "they have no right to bring children into the world if they can't bear their noise ;" and teachers, likewise, must beware of the temptation to put a stop to talking. In fact, if young people begin to act on the worthy Canon's rules, we may expect the already unhappily large number of lunatic teachers to be largely increased, unless, indeed, the masters and mistresses will have a game of romps, too, whenever the pupils are ready for one. This might answer on the "half-time" system ; we wonder whether it is in force in Mr. Isbister's office ; if so, the proof-reading which left errors like *corpus sanem* and *mentem sanem* must have gone on during the play-time.

One grand truth we hold with Canon Kingsley,—that that hysterical temperament which seems to come of crowding in large cities leads directly to wild outbreaks like those which have disgraced so many cities, those of which the "Commune" troubles (due to the over-crowding and under-feeding of the Siege) are the latest instance.

"The Two Breaths," that which has been breathed before and the free breath of heaven, is a lecture delivered at Winchester, in which the reason why our forefathers got on (not very well, but very badly) without all this fuss about ventilation, is popularly explained : they lived in houses so ill-built as to be self-ventilating ; that is why they were obliged to use screens and bedsteads with heavy curtains ; and, besides, the length of life has actually increased one-third since the insurance tables were first drawn up.

As suggestive as any is a paper quaintly called "The Air-Mothers," which shows the sinful waste of water in England, when, by a little engineering, an ample supply might be stored up in every district. Not many years ago beer was cheaper than water in a great many Yorkshire towns. The yearly water-famine along the Chilterns is something which Mr. Disraeli ought not to

think beneath his notice. This summer half England is suffering from drought, after a winter in which fell a three-years' supply of rain. We have not attempted what Ninevite kings had done in David's day. The matter touches manufacturers, as well as farmers and people in general. It is no exaggeration to say that were our water well saved, one-third of the coal used in mills and mines could be dispensed with.

To our thinking the most striking essay is "The Tree of Knowledge." Men (says the Canon) have been always asking Nature and not God to clear the dull brain and comfort the weary spirit. His "Tree of Knowledge" is whatever stimulates: "take this, and you'll feel better," is the modern version of the tempter's words; "take this, and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Drinking, he fears, and we fear, too, is on the increase; over-work and high wages combine to cause this. There are thousands who work too hard, in circumstances which depress health, and who have no desire, and often no means, of spending their high wages in any but the lowest pleasures. "We live too fast and work too hard, and all keep running about like rats." It is too true; and the state of parts of the black country, "the well-paid and well-fed men of which abominable wastes care for nothing but good fighting dogs," is a national reproach. In all his remarks on this point Canon Kingsley is practical, keeping clear of Mr. Ruskin's abuse of manufacturers, indeed, giving them their due meed of praise, but pointing out at the same time that drinking increases because "the average hand-worker has very little opportunity of eating of any tree of knowledge save of the very basest kind, while the richer classes have become soberer because of the increased refinement and vanity of their tastes and occupations." This, again, is true; but to a considerable extent it is the "hand-worker's" own fault; neglect of early opportunities cuts him off from many trees of knowledge which bear pleasant fruit, though they do not bloom amid romantic scenery. One bit of special pleading we must notice. Having asserted that the crave for drink and narcotics is "not a disease, but a symptom of a disease far deeper than any which drunkenness can produce, viz., of the growing degeneracy of a population striving in vain by stimulants to fight against the slow poisons with which our civilisation has surrounded them," the Canon says: "People will urge that stimulants have destroyed the Red Men of America. No; all early evidence proves that the Red Men were, when Europeans first met them, a diseased, decaying, decreasing race; and such a race, wanting vitality, would, of course, crave for stimulants. If the stimulants had caused the decay, how is it the Scotch and Irish have been drinking whiskey all during the iron age, perhaps during the bronze and stone ages, and yet show no signs of decaying?" To

this we answer, that both Irish and Highlander have degenerated greatly from the old type, and that the degeneracy is to be traced directly to the abuse of ardent spirits. The evil effects of stimulants are different on different races: to the Red Man they have brought extermination, laying him open to the attacks of new diseases; for the "Celt" they have caused a lowness of type, only too noticeable when large numbers, and not picked specimens, are looked at.

This theory of "rotting races" is one of the Canon's old crotchets, which he has not given up, as we hope he has that enunciated long ago, in *Town and Country Sermons*, that the Russians are poor, debased creatures, because they went wrong in the *filiogue* controversy. Different, because wholly satisfactory, is what Canon Kingsley says about "our making money too rapidly for the daughters of those who make it." His plea for restoring woman to her place as healer, and in general for that higher education (not mere instruction) which shall fit them as mothers, or nurses, or governesses, to be "thrifty of life," will be read with interest, since these late discussions about the health of American girls.

But the Canon not only lectures mothers and daughters; he tells the Woolwich cadets that the study of natural history is an excellent and profitable one, and says that one of the happiest officers he ever knew lived mostly "up a tree," while in the tropics, with a long-handled net and plenty of cigars, catching butterflies instead of lounging or losing money at billiards.

"Biogeology," is a wonderful essay, containing, in a few pages, the results of half a life of reading on the distribution of plants, on the traces of the Arctic flora, &c. As a specimen of Kingsleyism it is perfect, comparable with the very best of the *Miscellanies*. Indeed, throughout, Canon Kingsley's style, always telling, has improved; he has almost lost that pompousness which was a defect in *Glaucus* and other earlier works.

"Superstition" and "Science," two lectures at the Royal Institution, are the most elaborate in the volume. Superstition, we are told, has nothing to do with the spirit, is not a child of reverence, but is a purely physical affection, *fear of the unknown*. Out of this blind fear of the unknown, like that of a cat caught in a trap, who bites at and tears the hand that tries to free her, man's imagination has created a whole mythology. And this fear is merely physical; spiritual fear is one of the noblest of all affections, nothing less or more than the fear of doing wrong; but between a savage's fear of a demon and a hunter's fear of a fall if he leaps an untried fence there is absolutely no difference. Hence comes all idolatry; indeed, from a savage watching the fierce Indian wasps in a hollow tree, Canon Kingsley deduces (in *Water-Baby* style) the fancy of a wasp-king, leading to the



formation of a wasp-tribe, who would gradually get to believe that their great forefather was a wasp, and who would offer human sacrifices to their wasps, which by-and-by, in the course of their migrations, would degenerate into a little wooden fetish. All this is beautifully worked out, and when its connection is pointed out with those witch-maniacs which, common still in Negroland, were of old too common in Europe, the terrible results of physical fear, systematised into a superstition, become apparent.

We must not follow Canon Kingsley through what he says on science. One remark deserves to be put on record: "The Jewish prophets, who took a healthy, cheerful, trustful view of nature, would have founded a grand school of inductive science, if that had been their business, for they found delight and not dread in the thought that the universe obeyed a law which could not be broken." Another is, that "the worst enemies of science are those often well-meaning persons who would keep a tame man of science as they would keep a tame parrot or a tame poet, saying,—Let us have science by all means, but not too much of it; discover freely, but hand over your discoveries to us, that we therewith may instruct and edify." Worthy of note, also, is the hint that science has shown the Malthusian dictum about population increasing faster than food, to be no law of humanity, but merely a tendency of the barbaric and ignorant man, for she increases manifold man's artificial powers of producing food." This remains to be proved. Science can send over tinned meats, perhaps, by-and-by, uncooked joints; science can invent phosphates; but she has not as yet been able to make worn-out English land compete with the exhaustless soil of South Russia.

Three lives—George Buchanan, tutor (and, in spite of Canon Kingsley, we must say calumniator) of Mary Queen of Scots; Rondelet, the Huguenot naturalist of Montpellier; and Vesalius, the anatomist—close the volume.

*Responsibility in Mental Disease.* By Henry Maudsley, M.D., &c. Henry S. King and Co. London. 1874.

It will scarcely be claimed by the most enthusiastic advocates of evolution that the doctrine of natural selection, as presented by Darwin, Spencer, and more notably by Haeckel, as the mode of origin of every form in the Biological series, from the "prolist" to man, and from man's lowest physical function to his highest moral impulse and action, is more than a "grand hypothesis" encircled by facts that strongly support its truth. There are physiologists, however, who would reconstruct upon it as a foundation the entire fabric of our civilised and social existence!

Dr. Maudsley is one of these. He is a psychologist who knows of nothing but matter and force. Logically considered, the only deity discoverable to, or allowable by, the human mind, is the deathless and rhythmical dance of atoms, and the only soul possessed by man is the outcome of their dancing in groups, which evolution, with heredity and accidental variation for its warp and woof, has arranged. Push home the reasoning of this book and that of others from the same pen, and man is but the creature of the accidents that have formed his infinite past, coupled with the "environments" among which he stands. Motive, impulse, will, action, are all decided for him. He has no freedom, nor in the proper and noble sense can he have the shadow of responsibility. The trees of Sodom and the vines of Eshcol produced entirely different fruits by the action of the law of selection and heredity. It is so with the moral and mental fruitage of a human mind. The pitcher-plant lays a trap of sugary gum from the base of its stalk to the inner margin of the treacherous leaf, which time has fashioned into a "pitcher," containing a digestive fluid into which the unsuspecting victim is decoyed to its death. But no one charges treachery upon the plant. The thousand flowers of the field pour forth their fragrance, and yield ungrudgingly to the myriads of harvesting insects food for the future. But who on this account invests them with personal nobility of action? They are the creatures of their environment; they are the necessary products of their peculiar past. Stern logic, carrying the reasoning of this book to its ultimate issue, can allow nothing more than this to the human mind. A man is mean or murderous merely from the accidents of the past. Our impulses are noble and generous because the warp and woof of hereditary and accidental variation in the hands of evolution have made them so. We can be no better and no worse than the inevitable has made us. We are conscious automata, and on such doctrines as these the whole question of criminal responsibility and the treatment of the insane is to be reconstructed. This, stripped of embellishment, is the meaning of the book before us. One out of scores of passages may suffice to show this. We are told that every man "is under the dominion of the natural law of evolution of the antecedents of which he is the consequent, and could no more become like 'another' than an oak could become an elm if their germs were planted in the same soil, warmed by the same sun, and watered by the same showers; each would display variations which, by the operation of natural selection, would issue finally in distinct varieties of character. There is a destiny made for man by his ancestors, and no man can elude, were he able to attempt it, the tyranny of his organisation" (pp. 21, 22). Again, "It is certain . . . that lunatics and criminals are as much manufactured articles as steam engines . . . only the processes

of the organic manufactory are so complex that we are not able to follow them" (p. 28). Now when we remember that it is not merely the physical nature that is here spoken of, but that the physical nature is declared to be *all*; when it is remembered that emotion, thought, volition—nay, consciousness itself, are claimed to be simply "modes of motion" of the molecular structure of the brain and nervous system, the meaning of all this is plain enough. We are conscious automata, doing that and only that which our complex structure compels us to do. Nothing outside the mechanism of our separate nature is possible to us. There is no absolute right or wrong anywhere. If the universe be infinite in extent, evolution may act in a wholly different manner somewhere else. What our brain-structure and molecular action lead us to look upon as good, and true, and noble, may at some infinite distance in the cosmos, by the peculiar brain evolution of its sentient beings, be execrated as absolute badness. If the brain structure of the majority leads to certain methods of action or thought, whatever they may be, they are right. Right and wrong in the opinion and consciousness of any group of sentient beings are simply what evolution makes them. Hence, after all, a madman's view of right is right to himself, although, on account of his deviation from the type of the majority in his view as to what right is, he must by that majority be restrained. Fortunately, the simple statement of this theory is its best refutation. It contradicts the common sense of humanity—runs counter to our consciousness. The fact that it ignores metaphysics and theology alike might be tolerated—at least by many—but man himself must not be ignored in framing laws for his mental and moral government.

It would be a matter of very considerable interest to follow into detail this singular book, but space forbids. Some points, however, may be briefly considered. It is observed that the insane are always influenced by motives like the mentally healthy, only they are perverted and unrestrained by conventionalism. But it is affirmed that the criminal in many cases has no more control over his will in response to these motives, than a convulsed patient has to regulate the action of his muscles by the standard of action afforded by a healthy frame. So that in point of fact the most circumscribed mental derangement becomes a sufficient excuse for the greatest aberration in morals. That there is a reciprocity of action between the physical and the mental state, it is scarcely necessary to maintain. It is admitted on all hands. The mind is powerfully affected by the body, and the intimate connection between molecular change and mental action is undoubtedly a fact. But that there is that in man which is enthroned above the material, and ultimately independent of it, no unbiased student of the whole phenomena of mind can long

question. Because physical methods of inquiry, when legitimately pursued, result in more or less exact knowledge, while metaphysical methods have always been more or less obscured and vitiated by what is subjective, we are not surely to conclude that all metaphysical inquiry is baseless. Because every mental action is accompanied by a measurable amount of molecular change in the substance of the brain, we are surely not illogical in refusing to consider such molecular change at once the cause of thought, and the thought itself. There is that in every human being to which every action is ; and which in spite of the most subtle reasoning and sophistry asserts itself superior to, and independent of all around it. To ignore this in estimating the mind's power over motives in health or disease, is to unfit ourselves for discussing the question at all. Our laws are a protest against it ; and their practical preventive action is the clearest test of their utility.

One of the most curious passages in the book is that in which the author seeks to identify many of the Hebrew Prophets with madmen. Some of the more marked symbolic actions of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea are specially indicated. But what can be more unphilosophical than such cold pathology as this ? The man whose life is devoted to experimental research is repeatedly doing what an intelligent school-boy would look upon as almost idiotic. Some of Joule's experiments in searching for the mechanical equivalent of heat, looked at *by themselves*, and severed from their context of purpose and idea, look merely like the toyings of a child. We must see their relation to each other and become master of the thought that guides and projects them all, to learn their meaning and to see their worth. And to isolate the acts of a Hebrew prophet under the afflatus of a great purpose merely to analyse them in themselves, is as unjust as it is wanting in every element of true science. If men are to be judged mad on such terms, we may fairly conclude that it is to madness and not to sanity that the victories of mind are to be attributed. On a level with this is the suggestion that the change of life and character in Saul of Tarsus after his vision on the road to Damascus was the result of a severe attack of insanity.

Incoming to the practical question of responsibility, Dr. Maudsley appears to argue that the presence of any morbid state of the ideas or affections vitiates reason, and annuls responsibility. Doubtless this will apply to some diseases ; but that it applies to all, is simply incorrect. Persons who are not to be convinced of the spherical shape of the earth, or are still for squaring the circle, are surely not free from moral responsibility in relation to theft or murder. Would a fraudulent land measurement be justified in a court of law by an assertion on the part of the surveyor that he was of opinion that the earth was not round, but flat ? Be this as it may, our author quotes, with evident

approval, the dictum of an American judge, who would acquit everyone whose mental state leads to erroneous notions as to facts; and this is supposed to be the bridge across the difficulties that at present surround the legal question which insanity involves. But the dogma that a person with a partial delusion is morally irresponsible for all his acts, would, we venture to affirm, leave more difficulties to be encountered than at present exist. To prove a very small insanity, and distinguish it from originality and eccentricity, or from ignorance, custom, stupidity, national prejudice, and so forth, is the very difficulty which constitutes the uncertainty of present trials at law.

Dr. Maudsley endeavours to sustain the position that legal judgments concerning witchcraft in days gone by were wrong, because the judge instructed the jury wrongly in matters of fact, and argues that the same is now done in relation to insanity for want of appeal to competent authority—the medical faculty—and we should infer that part of it specially which holds Dr. Maudsley's medical theories! But the fact is, the analogy is radically false. Witchcraft was a delusion shared in equally by the medical profession, the judges, and the people. But insanity is a fact, and can be dealt with as such. If, indeed, the medical profession could lay down a definite line by which every kind and degree of mental aberration should be known, and could show that its existence deprived the individual of moral responsibility, rendering him not amenable to law, that would be intelligible, something gained, and the law would only need evidences of the existence of insanity, however partial. But Dr. Maudsley not only cannot do this, but he allows a "borderland;" the question as to whether the "borderland" is passed being decided by the evidence of witnesses and experts. Should these experts be wholly medical? This is really one of the main questions which this book seeks to decide in the affirmative. From this we entirely dissent. The decision of the boundary line between eccentricity, originality, enthusiasm, &c., and insanity can be as well made by any educated thinking men as by doctors. How far the medical profession should be trusted with more power than it at present possesses may also be considered a serious question. Medical science can give us no absolute test of insanity, still less can it tell us with indisputable authority where responsibility ceases.

Dr. Maudsley contends that capital punishment should never be visited on those who are in any way mentally deranged, and yet the author admits that they should be punished! Surely this is a breakdown in reasoning. Either they are irresponsible, and therefore not amenable to justice; or if they know the nature of the crime and its legal consequences, should, while capital punishment obtains, suffer the full penalty of the law.

Finally, the writer refers to cases of senile decay, and then we are told that in some of these the consciousness of personal identity is lost, and the philosophers "who lay such stress on the unity of the *ego*" are invited to explain this. The challenge may be accepted when Dr. Maudsley gives us unmistakable cases to deal with. We have frequently endeavoured to analyse such cases, but they have never proved, on inquiry, what they were supposed to be. Memory may utterly fail; but consciousness—the "equivalent" of which in matter and force has a stubborn power of resisting the analyses of physicist and physiologist—remains. This is the stronghold of the psychologist.

*Lectures on the Geography of Greece.* By H. F. Tozer, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London: Murray. 1873.

THESE Lectures are among the earliest public fruits of a system lately introduced with the best results in both the older Universities. The great numerical inferiority of the professoriate as compared with that existing at Continental Universities with much fewer students, has induced some of the more active and accomplished college tutors and lecturers to take upon themselves duties which might seem to be more properly those of University professors. In addition to their ordinary routine teaching, they have chosen subjects to which they have respectively devoted especial attention, and have given courses of lectures upon them, open to the undergraduates of several or of all the colleges, or even to the general public. Mr. H. F. Tozer has long been known beyond University circles as an observant and accomplished traveller in the East, and it was natural that he should take, as the subject of a course of lectures, the geography of a country familiar to him from personal observation. The result is certainly highly satisfactory. The dryness which might have been expected to appear in a formal treatise on geography and topography, is avoided by casting the work into the form of lectures, which give scope for, and indeed require, a greater lightness of treatment. Throughout, the reader feels that he is in the hands of one who unites to competent scholarship a familiarity much less common with the actual natural phenomena of the country which he is describing. The objects which Mr. Tozer had in view in writing this course of lectures are thus stated in the preface:—(1) To enable students to form a more real conception of the country from the impressions of one who at various times has travelled over most of it; (2) To give a brief summary of the principal physical conditions by which the Greeks were influenced; (3) To sketch the connection of the geography and the history, starting from the geographical point of view; (4) To draw attention to



one or two subjects, which have hitherto been but slightly noticed . . . especially the connection of the geography and the mythology, and the etymology of Greek names of places." On all the points Mr. Tozer has much to say, well worth reading, and says it in a clear and graceful style. It is when dealing with the first and fourth that his path is the least well-worn, and here especially the younger student will have most reason to be grateful. It is true that on the subject of etymology, Mr. Tozer has not much to add to that which can be gathered from the great work of Professor George Curtius, "master of the old and new, safest and surest of guides," as he has been well called,—helped out occasionally by his famous brother's elaborate *Peloponnesus* and his smaller occasional essays. But the material has been gathered with great care, sifted with a sound philological caution, and arranged with a welcome clearness, so that the English reader is laid under no small debt of gratitude. In the Ninth Lecture, "On the Connection between Greek Geography and Greek Mythology," Mr. Tozer has not, so far as we can remember, any worthy predecessor, and the whole of the lecture is not only sound, but remarkably fresh and original. On the whole, the volume is one to be very heartily commended to the attention, not only of classical students, but of all who find any interest in the wonderful land

"Where each old poetic fountain  
Inspiration breathes around."

It is placed within the reach of all by well-chosen translations of the passages quoted from ancient authors, and supplied with an excellent map, printed, if we are not mistaken, from a portion of one of the plates engraved for Mr. Murray's magnificent *Biblical and Classical Atlas*.

*Darwinism and Design, or Creation by Evolution.* By G. St. Clair, F.G.S., &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1873.

*What is Darwinism?* By Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., &c. T. Nelson and Sons, London and Edinburgh. 1874.

WE commend these books to students of theology. They are valuable from the contrasts they present. They are both written in the interests of religion, but the former accepts the great modern theories, and shows how they may be harmonised with Revelation. The other repudiates natural selection, contends that, as a theory, it does not rest upon facts, and therefore rejects it. They are both well written, and will give the perplexed student a fair opportunity of hearing both sides, and so far judging for himself.

*Ancient Classics for English Readers.* Edited by the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. Vol. XX. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1874.

*The Greek Anthology.* By Lord Neaves.

WITH the present volume, Mr. Collins brings to a close his series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*. We can hardly wonder at the decision to which he has come to terminate here his editorial labours. To the twenty-one authors whose works have furnished the subjects for the little volumes which we have welcomed from time to time, it would not be easy to add any others admitting of a popular and yet scholarly and adequate treatment. We should have liked to see the experiment tried with Aristotle as well as Plato. It is true that the writings of "the master of those who know" contain more that would have to be passed over lightly in such a series as the present than was found to be the case with the Academic philosopher; his logical works and, to a large extent, his treatises on natural history could hardly be made to contribute much of any general interest or value: but surely the *Ethics* and the *Politics*, to say nothing of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, supply much more attractive material than the *Theætetus* and the *Philebus*. The subject of life in Rome, again, is by no means so exhaustively treated in the volume on Juvenal as to exclude the possibility of adding much from Martial; while the fact that his epigrams correspond much more nearly than those of the *Greek Anthology* to the modern notions of the requirements of such compositions, would have made them all the more welcome to the English reader. Archbishop Trench's charming lectures on Plutarch perhaps preclude all rivalry; otherwise no author would have lent himself more readily to the work which Mr. Collins has undertaken. The Roman *Elegy*, again, second-rate as are undoubtedly its poetical merits, forms so important and, in some respects, instructive a part of Latin literature, that we cannot but regret its total omission. But it is ill manners looking a gift horse in the mouth, and we feel much more inclined to thank Mr. Collins for that which he has done for us, than to complain of anything that may have been left undone. We are glad to be able to repeat, on the conclusion of the series, the warm commendation that we have given to many of the volumes as they have successively appeared. It is of course inevitable that there should have been inequalities in a series produced by so many contributors; but, as a rule, the writers have been thoroughly competent, and in some cases, previously distinguished for their familiarity with the author with whom they have undertaken to deal. The plan was an excellent one, and it has been worthily carried out. And not only for those

"general readers" for whom they have been especially intended, but even for more advanced scholars, Mr. Collins's volumes will be found extremely useful. We would especially recommend them for use in schools and colleges, where it has been too often the custom to set boys down to the study of a fragment of an author, with little or no idea of the parts of the work which precede and follow it. If this should be done with any of the authors of whom Mr. Collins and his collaborateurs have treated, it will be less excusable than ever.

As to the volume more especially under notice, we must confess that it somewhat disappoints us. Lord Neaves's reputation as a writer of sparkling verse and sensible lectures is so deservedly high, that we were hardly prepared for the feebleness and commonplace of much of the writing which connects the specimens extracted from the Anthology. But the charm of many of the exquisite little "flowers" gathered from the poesy of a thousand years is such, and the number of meritorious versions of them, from which an editor may choose, so great, that blemishes far greater than those which disfigure Lord Neaves's own portion of the work, would not prevent the volume from being a welcome addition to a series, of which we are reluctantly compelled to consider it one of the least successful volumes.

*The Poetical Works of David Gray.* A New and Enlarged Edition. Edited by Henry Glassford Bell. Glasgow: James Maclehose, Publisher to the University. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

THE name of David Gray seems to be doomed to connection with sorrowful issues. Snatched away himself at the early age of twenty-three, his works have at length fallen under the editorial care of Mr. Henry Glassford Bell, who "passed away in the vigorous fulness of his years," within a week after he had been correcting the proofs of the present volume. That this new edition of the young Scot's verses has lost much by the death of the editor we have no doubt; for although he had already selected what new pieces he thought worthy of being added to the former collected edition, had rearranged the whole, and had finally revised the greater part of the volume, it was, we are told, his intention to prefix a memoir and criticism. Instead of this intended prefatory matter, the publishers have given, as an appendix, a speech delivered by Mr. Bell in July, 1865, at the inauguration of the monument erected to David Gray's memory in the "Auld Aisle" burying-ground at Kirkintilloch. We think Mr. Bell, like Lord Houghton and some others, much overrates David Gray, who, though he has left behind him some pretty

enough verses, does not appear to us to have been a man of unmistakable genius. He might, if he had lived, have written fine poetry; but equally he might not; and his observation that, if he lived, he meant to be buried in Westminster Abbey, has always struck us as the conceit of a weakling rather than the strong confidence of a genius. However, we are glad to see his works collected again into a pretty volume, such as will help to keep them in mind if the public mean to adopt his latest editor's view, that they are worth keeping in mind.

There is nothing in the book to show which of the pieces are now published for the first time. This is a grave omission.

*The Poetical Works of Robert Buchanan.* Vol. I., Ballads and Romances; Ballads and Poems of Life. London: Henry S. King and Co., 65, Cornhill, and 12, Paternoster-row. 1874.

ONE of the best known pieces in the first volume of Mr. Robert Buchanan's *Poetical Works* is the address "To David in Heaven," the David of which is none other than poor David Gray. But though these verses are among the best known they are also among the least worth knowing,—their chief value being the witness they bear that Mr. Buchanan is not the only person who is over-estimated by Mr. Buchanan. The issue of a collected, classified, remodelled edition of the works in verse and prose of a barely-recognised fourth-rate writer like Mr. Buchanan is of itself somewhat ludicrous; but when supplemented by an engraved portrait and particulars of the writer's family history, it becomes more decidedly ludicrous; and one almost marvels at the self-assertion even of one whose antecedents scarcely left room to marvel at anything which his egotism and bad taste might bring about. A selection from the best things of Mr. Buchanan's works might well find a place in our collection of contemporary poetry; but he has done nothing (at least nothing published under his name) of any importance, and the air of importance he endeavours to give to his verses by classification, new "tags," and so on, results only in larger failure. To pick the best of the wheat out of many volumes mainly made up of chaff were wise enough; but to try to persuade us that all this chaff is wheat and of a good quality, is simply foolishness; and we are really sorry to see Mr. Buchanan giving so bad a chance to what is really worth reading in his work of the past few years.

In a note, the writer tells us that the Collection is to include all his writings, with the exception of some which his "maturer judgment does not approve;" and the implication is that his

"maturer judgment" *does* approve of all that is here. This is to be regretted, because much is so bad that it leaves but little hope of any advantage to the reading public to be reaped through maturity of Mr. Buchanan's judgment, even if he goes on living and "judging" till he is a hundred. We are glad, however, to see that his judgment is now sufficiently matured to recognise that it is admissible for a modern poet to write such verses as

" I have come from a mystical Land of Light  
To a Strange Country ;  
The Land I have left is forgotten quite  
In the Land I see."

It is not long since, in acting the part of "Thomas Maitland," Mr. Buchanan poked a good deal of fun at certain better-known authors than himself, on account of the necessity to depart from ordinary prose pronunciation in verses of similar construction; but his "maturer judgment," brought to bear on the productions of his own mind, sees nothing ludicrous in the old ballad style of the line—

Tò à stränge | cöuntree,

as it must be scanned and pronounced here. We note, moreover, that in the two divisions of Volume I., under the heads of "Ballads and Romances" and "Ballads and Poems of Life," the leniency of "maturer judgment" is extended throughout to this and other characteristics found specially objectionable by "Thomas Maitland," attacking the poetic rivals of Robert Buchanan.

There is one advantage in this reclassification of Mr. Buchanan's volumes of verse, namely, the opportunity it gives those readers who care to form an opinion about him, of doing so without much trouble. The first volume shows him at his best and at his worst, and at most of his intermediate levels. The ballad of "Judas Iscariot" is an admirable poem of a few pages, and, as far as we know, its goodness is all Mr. Buchanan's own. "Meg Blane" and "The Scaith o' Battle" stand midway between the best and the worst: both have much good human feeling in them, borrowed, of course, from no one; but both have also technical tricks badly imitated from greater authors; and both are marked by one of Mr. Buchanan's ruling vices—the vice of voluminousness. Then, at the other pole, we have the "Address to David Gray," which we should pronounce as bad as possible, had not Mr. Buchanan shown us that it is possible to do worse in the execrable "Ballad of Persephone."

*Poems.* By Hunter Dodds. London: Provost and Co: 1874.

THE larger part of this volume consists of versified legends of Romish saints, and is an instalment of a series of poems on "Saints' Days for the Year," on which the author is engaged. Mr. Dodds tells these old Church tales in graceful, animated lines; while the dreamy, ascetic sentimentalism fostered by Romish culture enables him to present his subjects in that tender, solemn, ecclesiastical form, in which alone, perhaps, they could be made tolerable as matter for poetic treatment. He undoubtedly possesses considerable poetic faculty, but he lacks, as yet, the bone and sinew of self-reliant thought, and the truth and strength of feeling which can be evoked only by much study of things as they are in the real world. Of the earlier poems, two strike us as noteworthy for their fine embodiment of the brave, simple spirit of the old English ballad, so admirably suited to that class of subjects. They are "Sir Ulfrie and His Lady" and "A Knight in Prison Singeth." The little hymn, too, in the story of St. Genevieve, sung by the sorrowing crowd in the church, is noticeable for its sweet, devotional, pathos; and we should like to see it well set to music. We close this notice by quoting it, not as a fair specimen of the author's powers, but for its own sake.

"When the tide of war outbursting,  
Drowns in blood the smiling plain,  
Vain the deeds of bravest heroes,  
Swords and bucklers—all are vain.  
Be our buckler, Thou whose pity  
Bore the shame upon the tree:  
Man of sorrows! in our sorrows  
We can only trust in Thee.

"On the darkly heaving billows  
Thou didst walk, and they were still;  
Thou canst stay the proud invader,  
He is servant to Thy will.  
Thou alone art King of nations—  
Lord of death or victory:  
Man of sorrows! in our sorrows  
We can only trust in Thee.

"O! subdue our hearts' rebellion,  
That we faint not or repine,  
Nought of evil can befall us,  
That comes down from hand of Thine.  
May we, like Thy great disciple,  
Meet Thee on the swelling sea:  
Man of sorrows! in our sorrows  
We can only trust in Thee."



*Congregational History, 1567-1700, in relation to Contemporaneous Events, and the Conflict for Freedom, Purity and Independence.* By John Waddington, D.D. London: Longmans. 1874.

READERS of Dr. Waddington's *Congregational History* from 1200-1567, will not be surprised to meet with a portly octavo volume of some 700 pages from the same pen characterised by the same laborious research. The precursor of the present work embraced a more extensive range, both as regards time and place, in the endeavour to trace in the various states of Europe the existence during the Middle Ages of congregational principles originating in the times of the Apostles, and to show that their maintenance and application were clearly discernible in the lives and writings of the great Reformers, both before and at the Reformation.

The volume before us traverses England and America, casting a brief glance at Holland, the house of refuge, the Pella, of proscribed and persecuted Dissent in this age. It lacks the interest attaching to a record of the stirring scenes enacted in the earlier half of the 16th century on the stage of religious history. Closely interwoven as they are, it is the political rather than the religious history of this later period which absorbs our chief interest. The struggle is not now between the gross darkness of the Papacy and the Gospel light rekindled and diffused by Protestantism; the question is whether that light, acknowledged by the great estates of the realm, shall only be allowed to reach the people through the artificial media of Church ceremonies, by the aid of episcopal organisation and priestly intercession, or be permitted to strike its penetrating beams direct from heaven itself.

Accordingly, the point of departure chosen is the year of the constitution of Richard Fitz's Church in the Bridewell of the City of London, the first Church of the Congregational order at the English Reformation of which we have information. To the restoration of property under Mary, and the exalted notions of royal prerogative entertained by the last of the Tudors and her two immediate successors of the Stuart line, were due the persistence and active development of Puritanism, and especially of that form of Puritanism the history of which, under many names, Dr. Waddington has undertaken to relate. The refugees on the Continent, who escaped the fires of Smithfield under Mary, caught the inspiration of the Continental reform, and with it the tendency to a democratic Church order, the maturity of which it was for Elizabeth to accomplish by instrumentalities strangely akin to those employed by her sister. Constrained exile, banishment, imprisonment, and death itself, were the appointed order of things under that sagacious Queen, her hypocritical successor, and his ill-fated son. In Grindal, Bancroft, Whitgift and Laud,

these rulers found men willing to undertake the pleasing office of persecutor, not loath to condemn the liberty of the subject so as to gain the favour of their sovereign or accomplish their own ecclesiastical projects. But High Commission and Star Chamber, Proclamation and so-called Legal Process, Conferences that were never meant to decide anything, and Concessions, only granted to be immediately withdrawn, served but to give volume and impetus to the wave which was to submerge crowned and mitred heads together.

The earlier portion of this volume is devoted to a detailed history of the persecutions suffered by those who passed under the name of Brownists, Separatists, Barrowists, &c., the enunciation of the principles by which they were guided, and the objects they were resolved to effect, and to an account of the formation of Congregational Churches in such places as Bury St. Edmunds, Southwark, Islington, Gainsborough, and Exeter—a history of “units” which the subject from its very nature involves. Dr. Waddington sets the dark designs of the Papal emissaries in striking contrast with the hearty loyalty of these simple men. A Memorial addressed by the latter to the Lord Mayor of London, deserves to be thus brought to light :—

“Marvel not, then, at our state; but pity us and help us, wherein you know it to be amiss. Behold a people wholly bent and devoted to serve the God of heaven in that course which they may perceive to be most tending to holiness and righteousness. If your Honours and Worships can bring any to show us that we shall do more true service to our God, our Queen and country, by coming to the parish assemblies, verily, we will hearken to them without obstinacy and go, that some of you would be the witnesses and judges. Alas! it is not our worldly ease to be thus tossed as we are. It is not only this matter of conscience that causeth all our sufferings and your troubles with us. Wherefore for Christ’s sake, whose true subjects we are; for England’s sake, whose loving countrymen we remain; and for the honour of your own names and health of your own souls, let no man cause you to fix your eyes and thoughts wholly upon our supposed faults; but rather upon some merciful means whereby this our too much heat may be cooled and tempered, if it be advised, in all meekness and love. How? *As becometh them that would spend their blood against the Pope and Spanish King, &c.*”

“That such was not the sentiment of intolerant bigotry,” Dr. Waddington adds, “will be seen by anyone who will carefully look into the original documents that reveal the designs of the Papacy in conjunction with the Spaniards.” “Then follows the scheme of Parsons, the Jesuit, in which the opinion is expressed that ‘in no way should liberty of religion be permitted to any person or to any Christian Commonwealth.’”

Dr. Waddington does not rest his claim for a hearing on any beauties of style. The picturesque finds no place in his narrative. He is concerned simply with the statement of evidence, oral and written, which is left to produce its own effect. The story of the Pilgrim Fathers, if we except a few added details of the initiation of the scheme, is told by the simple but manly "relation" of Governor Bradford. Such a plan, while it detracts from the charm of a narrative, conduces to the faithful delineation of character, which is exemplified in the accounts of John Parry and Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians." In the former case, Dr. Waddington quotes in his letter to his wife his confession of faith, his statement to the judges, proposals for a conference, valedictory address to the Church, and his appeal followed by a protestation to Lord Burghley, with the good result of enabling us to comprehend thoroughly the man's character. The contrary effect is produced by a perusal of the chapters devoted to Puritan colonisation. We wander hopelessly among sermons, articles, dialogues, letters of spiritual counsel, addresses and confessions of faith. Dr. Waddington might be writing the History of Religion.

Coming to the period of the Commonwealth, we find our author declining for a singular reason the task of dealing with ecclesiastical organisation. "We cannot enter into the labyrinth of Republican politics. The intention of the Protector was to meet the ecclesiastical emergency in the best and most impartial manner. But there is ample proof that Ministers appointed and salaried by the State were placed in a most unhappy position." Then follows a treatment of the subject after the "unit" fashion, after which a review is taken of the contest between the early Quakers and their opponents. Of the controversial writings of the former, he says, "They are often so confused and vituperative that it is difficult either to understand their meaning, or to give a fair account of them to others."

All this is very unsatisfactory. The labyrinth of the Commonwealth Dr. Waddington should be quite competent to tread, and when he informs us in the preface that "The most zealous Liberationist might learn something from the experiment of partial disestablishment without complete disendowment in the ecclesiastical chaos of the Commonwealth," we expected something more than this withdrawal. Whether weariness of his task, or the fear of passing the limit of a single volume, withheld him, we find a very meagre treatment of that eventful period which immediately succeeded the Restoration. There is no allusion to the Proclamation of Jan. 1661, which followed Venner's insurrection, and put an end to all liberty of public worship and confined it within the walls of the parish church.

There are defects in the volume which are palpable even to the ordinary reader. Quotation follows quotation without the

slightest clue to the source from which they are derived. The references that are given are of a most insufficient description. The documents referred to are multifarious; State Papers and Historical MSS., printed books, Church and Corporation records; but without a faithful system of references the value of the book is greatly diminished. A "correspondent of the period" is sometimes our only authority for a page of print. Again, quotations printed for the most part in smaller type continually run into the text of the work; and the love of inverted commas and parentheses amounts almost to a mania, e.g. "thereabout" (p. 23), "beloved" (p. 128), "exiles" (p. 119), "let" (hindrance), (p. 128), &c. In the citation from Milton's *Areopagitica*, pp. 434-89, there are at least six errors.

Despite blemishes of style and arrangement, the volume before us is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. After patient delving in many soils, Dr. Waddington has presented us with treasures of historical evidence of great worth. "The witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner." The student of ecclesiastical history will be grateful to Dr. Waddington for this attempt to bring to light the less known facts of Congregationalism.

*Ecclesiastical History of England. The Church of the Revolution.* By John Stoughton, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

THIS volume of Dr. Stoughton's History is of very great interest and value. It deals with a period of remarkable importance. When the word "Revolution" accurately represents the spirit of an age, there will be much to attract the thoughtful reader. The civil aspect of the English Revolution has been sufficiently sketched by Macaulay; and now, under Dr. Stoughton's guidance, we are invited to survey its ecclesiastical side. When we say that this volume gives us a Dissenter's view of the events of the reign of William III., we do not intend to cast any reflection upon the writer's impartiality. Upon the whole, the history is written with fairness; still it is not impossible to discover the direction in which the narrator's sympathies lie. The book is written in a very readable style, and the narrative is frequently enlivened by well-drawn pictures of places and men. We have been specially struck with the quiet beauty of the scenes in the midst of which the last days of Archbishop Sancroft were spent. No doubt all this picturesque writing is an abomination to the soul of Dryasdust; but readers heartily welcome it. Sometimes, however, Dr. Stoughton errs in this respect; the names of certain places are to him mighty spells, conjuring up the spirits of the

past, and his recollections becoming bewildering. For instance, we meet with such a sentence as this :—"At Newcastle and Hull—ground covered by Commonwealth memories—demonstrations occurred in favour of a free Parliament. In the fine old market-place at Norwich—abounding in Puritan associations—the Duke of Norfolk addressed the Mayor and citizens, and talked of securing law, liberty, and the Protestant religion. Just afterwards, the townsmen of King's Lynn—where one meets with the shades of Oliver Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester—responded to the Duke in a strain like his own" (p. 50). A very uncomfortable sense of ignorance of "Commonwealth memories" and "Puritan associations" is apt to make its appearance in a reader's mind on perusing such sentences, and some time passes before he can forgive the author and his recollections. The sketches of the meetings of Convocation in the year 1701 are very spirited. Dr. Stoughton's pen moves freely when describing the quarrels of the Upper and Lower Houses. The restless figure of Atterbury darts across the page, and more than once a stampede of "wild" clerics is witnessed. We fear that the task of describing these ecclesiastical hurlyburlys is a congenial one; we fancy that we catch the twinkle of the Dissenter's eye as he writes the following lines :—"The clergy on the 20th of January assembled early in the cold nave of the Abbey, after which they proceeded to prayers in the Jerusalem Chamber; thence they returned to Henry VII.'s Chapel, where they found the floor matted and curtains hung—no small comfort on a frosty morning. If their feet were as warm as their tempers, they had no reason to complain, for no sooner had they taken their places than it was proposed to have prayers over again by themselves, to show their independence." The volume is made of especial value by the insertion of extracts from comparatively unknown local Church histories, and by the final chapters on religious societies and the condition of the Nonconformists.

Dr. Stoughton has done good service by his description of the attempt at Comprehension in the year 1689. In a time of Revolution many precedents are examined and abolished, or amended in accordance with the demands of the age. In the English Revolution the condition of the Church was so examined, and a very interesting attempt was made to amend its form. In the French Revolution the examination led to a determination to abolish it altogether. Fortunately we were saved from such "blind hysterics." The leaders of the Established Church, in order to reconcile Nonconformists, took into grave consideration their grievances. They learned that the difficulties in the way of union lay, to a considerable extent, in the Prayer Book; and so, after a Bill had passed the Houses of Parliament, a Commission was appointed to examine the whole question. The Book of

Common Prayer was subjected to rigid criticism, and, as a result, it was discovered that about six hundred alterations ought to be made therein, "even if," as Dr. Stillingfleet affirmed, "there were no Dissenters, as they would be for the improvement of the service." This scheme, that seemed to promise so well, finally perished amidst the controversies of Convocation. The whole account is well worth the perusal of Churchmen and Nonconformists. Macaulay has assigned a reason for the failure of the attempt that does not limit the blame to the clergy; but Dr. Stoughton seems to repudiate the charge. It will be remembered that Macaulay suggests that there was no real desire on the part of Nonconformist ministers to become reconciled to the Church. According to his theory, Comprehension was looked upon by them as a terrible disaster. He describes the comfort of the popular Presbyterian minister with touching effusiveness:—"The best broadcloth from Blackwell Hall and the best poultry from Leadenhall Market were frequently left at his door. . . . While a waiting woman was generally considered as a help meet for a chaplain in holy orders of the Established Church, the widows and daughters of opulent citizens were supposed to belong, in a peculiar manner, to Nonconformist pastors." What wonder, then, that these fortunate men objected to be comprehended? We quite agree with the historian's conclusion:—"He might, therefore, on the whole, very naturally wish to be left where he was." Dr. Stoughton demurs to this. He says:—"Selfishness has been assigned as a motive. The balance of temporal advantages certainly inclined on the side of a nationally endowed Church, rich in tithes and other revenues, richer still in rank and prestige. It is unfair to suppose that, except in very rare instances indeed, an eye to income retained men in Nonconformist positions. Beyond all doubt, had Dissenting ministers been generally zealous in supporting the measure, they would have been charged by their neighbours with looking after the loaves and fishes" (p. 111). The force of this passage is somewhat mitigated by another which occurs on p. 330:—"At that time, a mean-looking parsonage was the rule, not the exception: and even in the parish of Kensington, though honoured by the presence of Royalty, the vicarage is described as having been of a very humble character, with lattice windows. A large proportion of the livings were very poor, some as low as £14 or £15 per annum. Wesley's first income was £30 a year from a curacy in London; and if so small a sum was paid in the metropolis, what must it have been in some of the provinces? The pitiful condition of clergymen under Charles II. could have undergone no great improvement under William III." We think that the reasons of failure will have to be sought in another direction. It seems to us that well-meaning, charitable men, in their attempts



at "Comprehension," overlook the necessity of human nature for diverse expressions of the religious life.

We are glad to find that, in these days of false liberalism, Dr. Stoughton takes up a decided position on the Protestant question. In commenting upon the "succession" theory, he says:—"A Popish claimant is the subject of another and an ambitious power, which associates temporal with spiritual authority, and exercises assumed prerogatives after an elastic fashion which can contract or expand them with exquisite cunning, as fear darkens or as hope brightens the prospect of futurity. A Roman Catholic sovereign is involved in complications intolerable to a Protestant people, with a history full of warning against foreign interference. . . . Taught by the story of the past, our ancestors guarded against Romish intermeddling; and it is well for the fortunes of this country that, acting on this maxim, our fathers did not, in a fit of blind generosity, mistaken for justice, open, or keep open, a door of mischief which, in some perilous hour, it might be impossible to shut."

We shall look forward with great interest to the next volume of Dr. Stoughton's History, in which he hopes to deal with the great religious movements of the eighteenth century.

*The Higher Life: its Reality, Experience, and Destiny.* By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. Minister of Brixton Independent Church. Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

THE title of this book will lead some to look for a different class of subjects from those which it contains. The term "Higher Life," used by Mr. Brown, has by some been made synonymous with a certain state of religious experience, and those who have been accustomed to use the phrase in a restricted sense may, perhaps, be disappointed as they glance through the list of topics here dealt with. A further consideration will remind them of the varied and ever-multiplying types of Christian thought and excellence, and the manifold operations of the "same Spirit." As the initial crisis in the Christian life comes in the same way to perhaps no two men, while the same change, in its essential principles, passes over all who are "born of the Spirit," so, in rising to the higher stages of Christian experience, the complete consecration, the deepened insight, the intenser realisation of truth and more diffused interpenetration of the life with its principles will find in men of different temperament, thought, and education very different expression. "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow" may have been the conclusion of a disappointed man. Our author shows us that he who increases knowledge or develops any of the powers of spiritual life, increases sorrow—a sorrow, it may be, so chastened and refined as to have lost much of its bitterness; a sorrow, it may be, which

shall pass in its turn into more exquisite joy—but sorrow still. "Ye shall be sorrowful . . . Ye now, therefore, have sorrow," were the words of the Man of Sorrows to His followers, while in the same breath He gave the illustration which showed that of such travail-pangs great things should be born.

And this leads us to say that the spirit which breathes through this book is thoroughly Christian. It presupposes, for its full effect, a soul more or less prepared for its lessons, prepared by the discipline of life, and the earnest, brooding thought such discipline engenders; but to such a reader its truth will abundantly commend itself. And none but a follower of Christ, so disciplined, so earnestly inquiring, so patiently trusting, can either gather or convey the lessons of the "fellowship of His sufferings." Very finely the author says, in his sermon on 2 Cor. i. 5:—

"There is a suffering which belongs to life under its highest conditions in this world, which is known in its fullest measure to the purest and loftiest natures—God's priests and kings. The kings who live delicately, who wear soft raiment, and are the regulating wheels in the machine of State, wear golden diadems. The kings whose toil of brain forecasts, and whose toil of spirit clears the way for human progress, whose work lies far in advance of the great host which struggles on in their tracks, and who, in the course of generations, get recognised as the master-spirits, wear mostly the crown of thorns."

The strain recurs again and again: not wearisomely iterated, but, like the plaintive music of Bach's "Passion," charming the ear with its persistent, melodious monotone. "Thy heart shall fear, and be enlarged," "Followers of us and of the Lord, having received the Word in much affliction with joy of the Holy Ghost," "Better that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing," "As the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ"—such are some of Mr. Brown's texts, and fair samples of the lessons of "Higher Life" which he earnestly and persuasively inculcates. And as he himself gives us in a few words the "core of his theology," we will extract the passage from the beginning of his sermon on "They that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country," so that our readers may judge for themselves:—

"Who that aims at the higher life is at rest and satisfied, in the inmost heart of him, with anything which he can see, or hope for, or dream of as possible, in such a world as this? It is a strange, sad life, which asks the heaviest sacrifices of its noblest children, and inflicts on them the keenest pain. There would be no key to it—no possible means of understanding such a history of sacrifice and suffering as this chapter records, and which every faithful soul through all the Christian ages repeats—if God Himself had not come down to live it, that He might make it

visibly the vestibule of an eternal life, wherein all that is dark will be revealed, all that is wrong will be righted, and the sufferers for righteousness' sake will be justified and glorified for ever. I confess that this is the very core of my theology—that is, of such notions of the nature, methods and purposes of God as I have been able to work out from my experience of life and my study of His Word. It would all be dark to me, utterly, hopelessly dark, if I did not believe that the travail of life and of the creation is, not watched and pitied only, but shared to its uttermost depths of pain, by the Lord."

It is in anything but a critical spirit that we desiderate in such a book more of the teaching, "In me ye have peace." The joy and the consolation that comes by Christ is touched on, here and there dwelt on, in these sermons, but it hardly rules, nor does the writer evidently mean us to expect that here it should rule. It is indeed vain for one disciple of Christ to urge one part of the Master's teaching against another, especially when, as in this case, the very essence of his acquaintance with grief is so finely touched, and His disciples lovingly urged to watch the hour with Him as He agonises in the garden. Still, we feel compelled to record our impression, in closing this volume of touching and stirring words of exhortation, that the ringing note of triumph which becomes those who believe in a Risen as well as a Crucified Saviour, hardly predominates as we could wish. Not yet is the redemption of the purchased possession complete, but there is a peace of trust that passes understanding, which may keep our hearts and minds; not yet is the triumph complete, but there is a note which the followers of the Conqueror may sound as they antedate that day, and a tempered joy which may rule the soul of the most anxious and sorrowful of Christ's friends. The nature of that joy is admirably sketched in the comments on the "joy in the Holy Ghost," in the sermon on the "Noble Army of Martyrs."

"It is the joy of the man who has found the true Lover and Lord of his being, whom he can serve with perfect loyalty, love with passionate devotion, and obey with supreme delight. It is the joy of the lonely widowed soul, which has discovered its kindred; of a sick man, who feels within himself that the spring of his life is healed, that his vigour and vital energy are restored. . . . Circumstances are nothing. 'I have found Him whom my soul loveth' is the cry; and nothing can kill, nothing can even dash, the joy which that consciousness quickens within."

That the true nature of the blended joy and suffering of the Christian is represented, the reader will gather from the following passage, contiguous to the above, describing the contrast between the suffering with Christ, and the suffering of the world:—

"And let the careless reader understand, that the choice in life

is mainly between suffering with joy of the Holy Ghost, and suffering without it. Do not let the devil cheat you into the belief that the choice is between an easy, merry, careless, pleasant life-course, and the struggles and sorrows of the Christian, lightened and sweetened by the joy of the Holy Ghost. Life is no merry march or holiday pastime for any of us; but the true agony of life must be with those who are without God and without hope in the world. God sets no such choice before us as the pleasures of sin and the pains of godliness. The choice, as I have in the next discourse set forth more at large, is simply between the sorrows of sin and the sorrows of Redemption; the one embittered by the frown, the other illumined by the smile of God. There is sorrow with a curse in the heart of it, and sorrow with a blessing; sorrow with the devil for a comforter, and sorrow with God for a friend; sorrow with the fiends for comrades, sorrow with Christ as the elder brother of the spirit; sorrow with hell at the end of it, and sorrow with heaven."

The only other characteristic of this book which calls for notice is the appreciation with which the preacher enters into the problems of the day, concerning the origin and destiny of mankind. No doubt there are theologians who keep their ears closed against the questionings raised in the hearts of many by the tendency of modern scientific thought, as there can be no doubt many (may we not say most, by their own confession?) scientific men keep their ears closed against the pleadings and reasonings of theologians. But it is vain for either side to ignore the problems raised by the other; the knot may not be untied in this generation, but to cut it is to cut the knot that holds fast our life. And in Mr. Brown's book we have the point of view indicated from which we can discern the two sides of the shield about which the disputants are contending. Of course in the compass of a few sermons nothing more is done than to indicate and suggest, but none can read and think out for himself these suggestions without profit.

The style of these sermons is, as becomes their subjects, glowing and earnest, but not overwrought; the pitch is well sustained, and the interest not suffered to flag; and if our space permitted, we might quote many specimens of apt and original illustrations, which bring well home the lofty spiritual truth which it is the aim of the preacher to enforce. The class whose "difficulties, burdens, and needs" the author has aimed at meeting, viz., "those who are hardly pressed by the battle, or sharply exercised by the discipline of life," will find strength and solace in the teaching of this volume.

*The Spirit and Word of Christ, and their Permanent Lessons.*  
By Vance Smith, B.A., Philos. and Theol. Doct.,  
Minister of St. Saviourgate Chapel, York. Longmans.  
1874.

It is to us a purely painful task to comment on this book. That the writer of it is sincere, in the best sense, we have not the slightest doubt; that he is earnest we can well believe, though there is not in his pages the glow of religious feeling which pervades the pages of Channing, Martineau, and others, who share his views; but it cannot be other than painful to any who find so much more in the "*Spirit and Word of Christ*" than does our author, to be compelled strenuously to differ on a point of such vital importance.

This volume is an expanded "Tract," intended to give "a short account of the ministry of Christ, more especially as viewed in its practical, moral, and religious aspects . . . simply written, and suitable for the use of unlearned readers more particularly." The author's name is so well known, that we need hardly add that one principal aim of the book is to counteract the "strange and superstitious extreme of orthodoxy," which represents Christ as the Christian's Lord as well as his Teacher, David's Lord as well as his Son, and to make (see p. 3, note) the "Master" of the Gospels simply one of the masters of the schools. We are compelled to add, that the plan of the book, as written chiefly for unlearned readers, is anything but clear and consistent. It is competent to the writer, on grounds well stated, altogether to reject the testimony of the Evangelists and St. Paul as to the Person of Christ, and represent all alike as deluded in their views; or to accept their statements, and show that in no instance do they imply the Divinity of our Lord; or to accept some of their statements and reject others, due and reasonable grounds being given for making the distinction. None of these alternatives is, however, chosen, but the testimony of the writers of the New Testament is used or refused according to the pleasure, we will not say caprice, of the critic. Where words can be explained in the sense he would give them, an attempt is made so to explain them; where that is impossible, the testimony in itself is slighted, as being mere admixture of heathen philosophy, or pardonable ignorance and superstition. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example (p. 82), is unceremoniously discarded, as his "characteristic expressions are found nowhere else in the New Testament" (!), and these "may safely be left out of the account." The same method is adopted in dealing with the Fourth Gospel, and the statement made (p. 87), that "it is hardly conceivable that the same mind should have expressed itself in the simple and natural language of that [the Lord's] prayer and

in the form of the prayer attributed to Jesus in chapter xvii. of this Gospel"! Either the writers in the New Testament are wholly trustworthy, in which case their language is to be studied in a very different spirit from that here displayed, or wholly untrustworthy, in which case all discussion of their words is at an end; or in dealing with their various utterances, on a subject so momentous as the one in question, a canon of some sort should be laid down, to enable the "unlearned reader" approximately, at least, to separate kernel and husk, spirit and letter. This, at all events, Dr. Vance Smith does not supply.

So much for the plan as a whole. In descending to the details of exposition, we are puzzled to know which of the many specimens afforded to select, in order to enable any reader fairly to judge between the enlightened critic and the "strange and superstitious orthodox." Perhaps the discussion of the Baptismal Formula (p. 99) may be taken as a typical instance.

"Baptism, then, into a person or object, included the recognition or confession of either, in whatever religious character properly belonged to them. Hence, 'into the name of Jesus,' it implied the confession of him as the Christ, in other words, the confession of him as the 'Son of God,' a well-understood appellation of the Messiah. Thus, too, the injunction to baptize 'into the name of the Father,' signified and included the acknowledgment of the Almighty Father as revealed by Christ; the acknowledgment of Him as the One God and Father of all men alike, without respect of persons. The acknowledgment of the Holy Spirit, too, was of especial importance in the early days of Christianity. By many it had been denied that our Lord did his mighty works by Divine power, and they referred them to evil spirits. In later times the Spirit is said to have been given to the disciples. Hence, again, the convert was baptized into the Holy Spirit. He was thus taught to recognise a twofold fact; first, that it was the Spirit of God Himself in Jesus, and not any evil spirit that was with him throughout his life; and secondly, that the same Divine help and power was, in still later times, given to his disciples."

And such is given us as the only "ideas which this form was intended to embody and convey." Let us then substitute (and if there seem to be irreverence, it must be chargeable to the author's interpretation) the name of any merely human teacher for that of Jesus of Nazareth, and ask if any can conceive a baptism in the name of the Father, John the Baptist (or Paul or Peter) and the Holy Ghost! Well may Paul ask, as a conclusive appeal, needing no answer, "Were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" And we are at a loss to know what name to apply to the exposition which can explain away the meaning of words after the fashion of the above extract.



Of St. Paul we read (p. 137), that "the passages in the Pauline Epistles which appear to speak of Jesus Christ as God, are two in number, (!) and in reality they require a different interpretation." But into the discussion of St. Paul's testimony we must not now be led, nor can we comment on the few (perhaps necessarily so) and unsatisfactory words our author gives to the doctrine of the Logos in the Fourth Gospel. We find, however, as specimens of his interpretation of St. John's language, the current.

John viii. 58, "Before Abraham was, I am" *he*, i.e., the pre-ordained Messiah; and John x. 30, "I and my Father are one," for which the Jews took up stones to stone Him, is "intended simply to convey the idea of Divine power in Jesus, as also is John xiv. 9 (p. 94). The marvellous conjunction in John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal," &c., seems to the writer, if we may judge from the way in which he quotes it, a perfectly natural expression to use of a merely human teacher.

But we are travelling over ground too well trodden, and trodden, alas! by opposing feet. We are glad to read at the close of this volume, which it has given us hardly anything but pain to read, of the "sympathy, admiration, and reverence due from the disciple to such a Master." Is it too much to hope and pray that a deeper, more sympathetic, more reverent study of the character and Person of Him whom, with our varying ideas, we delight to honour, may make even now each sincere but unbelieving Thomas fall and cry, "My Lord and my God."

*Memorials of the Rev. William Toase, with an Introduction by the Rev. W. Arthur, M.A. Wesleyan Conference Office. 1874.*

THIS volume has a double interest. In the first place it is valuable for the light thrown on the planting of Methodism in France. It was while labouring in the Doncaster Circuit that William Toase began to study the French language. His first teacher was a refugee, one of the emigrants under the first Revolution. His only motive to the study was a vague impulse, unaccountable at the time, but explained afterwards. In his next appointment, Guernsey, he obtained a better command of the language, as well as a good wife. In the Sevenoaks Circuit, 1809, he first found use for his new acquirement. Touched with pity for the thousands of French prisoners of war confined in the hulks on the Medway, he instituted services, reading-classes, and libraries for their benefit. The field of labour was needy, interesting and fruitful. Some idea of the state of ignorance may be formed from the reply of a prisoner to a priest who spoke to him about his soul, "I know of no such animal." The labours of Mr. Toase and his helpers were amply rewarded in the knowledge

imparted, in conversions, happy deaths, and the gratitude of the prisoners. This portion of the book will be found not the least interesting. In 1815 Mr. Toase was again appointed to Guernsey, with the general direction of the French work. He made several journeys in France with the object of discovering a favourable opening for labour, but apparently with little success. Facts come out which partly explain the languishing state of French Protestantism. Much of the blame lies at the door of an inefficient and careless pastorate. It seems to have been common for pastors to rest one Sunday in three, or preach only once a fortnight. Afterwards Mr. Toase travelled in several English Circuits. This part of his life is left somewhat indistinct. What is clear is that he still kept up his interest in France, often paying visits to it. In 1836 he was appointed to Boulogne, and the following year to Paris, where he laboured till 1848. He was not blind to all good in Roman Catholics. "1837, Feb. 14th. Heard an excellent sermon in the Roman Catholic Church, very forcible and faithful, containing nothing objectionable, except when the preacher called the Protestants *nos frères égarés*, and their Bible *les Bibles falsifiées*." There are touches of another kind. "There was lately living in the neighbourhood of Orleans an aged woman who gave all her earnings to the clergy. In the papers which were rendered to the civil authorities, according to law, it was proved that the priest had given in exchange, 'a place in Paradise, No. 7, on the left-hand side on entering.'" "Our servant, when preparing for her first communion, went to the priest on Saturday for a ticket. He and his friends were at supper on meat. She was startled and mentioned it to his servant, who told him all. At the next confession he accused her. She said she was surprised, &c. 'My child,' he answered, 'I baptized the meat into a cod.'" It was no doubt owing to Mr. Toase's quiet wisdom and tact that the work of Methodism in Paris owed its safe progress as well as its freedom from Government interference. After four years spent as a supernumerary in Guernsey, he was again appointed to the English Chapel at Boulogne, and died on French soil.

But the chief interest of the volume is a personal one. Most Methodists will be glad to have a nearer view of one whose name was so familiar. From his life-long association with France, we had thought of him as at least half French. Behold, he is a stalwart, ruddy Yorkshireman of Yorkshiremen from the extreme north of the North Riding. What strikes us in his character is his goodness. This, and not intellectual power, was the secret of his success, and of the reverence which gathered round his name. Even Roman Catholics, who marked his perfect walk, thought that he would be saved "by an act of special grace." He was canonised during life in the only way known among Wesleyans,

as "Father Toase." May such "saints" never fail from among us! The introduction by Mr. Arthur is worthy both of the writer and the subject. The book lacks one essential of a complete memoir, a portrait. We hope that the work will help to increase interest in French Methodism, just now so sorely in need of prayers and practical sympathy.

*Bishop Asbury: A Biographical Study for Christian Workers.*  
By F. W. Briggs. Wesleyan Conference Office.

TEN years hence will be the centenary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. After ninety years of separate work, it can show three millions of Church members, seventy Conferences, ruled by thirteen bishops, twelve editors superintending its literature, with schools, colleges, and missions on the same scale. Such growth, unsurpassed in Church history, reveals sympathy between the Church and nation, the same genius in both. And the spirit of American Methodism is that of its first pioneer bishop, a wonderful blending of freedom and energy. Asbury is another instance of a man raised up by God in the Church for a special work. The hand of Providence is seen at every turn of his life—in the hardy physical training which fitted him for the rough work of an evangelist in the backwoods and among the primitive settlements of America; in the five years of circuit life at home, which gave him an insight into the working of Methodism, as well as opportunities, well-used, of acquiring necessary theological knowledge, in the clear intuition by which, on his landing in America, he saw that what was wanted was, not a settled pastorate, but a restless evangelism; in his decision at the Revolution, when his brethren returned to England, to abide alone by his work, and cast in his lot with the new country; in the unerring prudence with which, in drawing the lines of the new Church, he avoided the two extremes of narrowness and laxity; in the fact that, for forty-five years, he was spared, amid weakness and suffering, to go through labours one-fiftieth of which might well have killed ordinary men, and to see the work he had begun co-extensive with the States. Asbury never revisited his native land. He avoided Wesley's one mistake—marriage—in a position like his. His labours were truly Herculean, or better, apostolic. His travelling averaged 6,000 miles a year. Rivers, forests, mountains, swamps, winter cold, exposure by day and night, savage Indians, did not hinder him from following the English settler, west and south. Yet, in his long, weary rides, he never neglected communion with God. Out of an income of 64 dollars a year, he helped a poor mother till his fifty-seventh year. His wisdom was as remarkable as his energy. He managed so to delay the separation from Home-Methodism that it took

place at the same time as the separation of the countries. American Methodism owes its episcopal system to Wesley, but the title of "Bishop" to Dr. Coke. Wesley's title was "General Superintendent." Asbury's Journal has many touches of humour: as where he complains of the "ticks, chiegoes, and such insects," in the woods, interrupting his devotions, and expresses an earnest wish for "a plain, clean plank" to sleep on. Of one road he says, "those who wish to know how rough it is may tread in our path." His last will, too, reminds us of Wesley:—"If I do not, in the meantime, spend it, I shall leave, when I die, an estate of 2,000 dollars, I believe: I give it all to the Book Concern."

The biographer has done his work in a practical, sensible way. The story goes straight forward. The moral, which, by the way, appears sufficiently in the life, is limited to the introduction and last chapter, and does not break the flow of the events. The biography is too short, rather than too long—a rare fault in these days. It will make better known, we trust, to English Methodism, a noble character and a noble Sister-Church.

There are some faults. An "indiscrete man" (p. 74), like "unanimously" (p. 117), is, doubtless, a printer's mistake: but not so the implied comparison of the American struggle for independence, which all England now approves, with the present clamour for "*Home-rule*" (p. 86), which all England condemns. The passage is an unfortunate one. Again, why does Mr. Briggs quote that mysterious eulogy on Asbury—"This great and grand, because good, old man" (p. 2), when he gives the much truer, and certainly more intelligible one, by Dr. Coke (p. 137), "I exceedingly reverence Mr. Asbury; he has so much wisdom and consideration, so much meekness and love; and under all this, though hardly to be perceived, so much command and authority?" We notice also, what so many books suffer from, chariness in giving dates. Thus, Ch. XI., describing the important action of the Leeds Conference of 1784, omits the date. True, it can be inferred by looking farther on; but this should not be necessary. A few such corrections, and the alteration of a few infelicitous sentences, would make a good book still better.

*Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa. With an Account of the First Successful Ascent of the Equatorial Snow Mountain—Kilima Njaro—and Remarks upon East African Slavery. By Charles New, of the late Livingstone Search and Relief Expedition. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1873.*

EASTERN and Central Africa will hereafter have a new interest to all England. Our great countryman, David Livingstone,

honoured more by his own labours than by any tributes that his country can pay him, has, by his heroic toil and sacrificial service, chained the attention of the whole civilised world to a people, whose elevation it now becomes the duty of all more favoured races to promote. Waiting anxiously as we do for the records of the brave work done for Africa, we gladly catch any stray words which may better prepare us for the great work. On this account the present volume is seasonable, dealing as it does with a district of the country contiguous to that traversed by the great explorer. It has its own intrinsic worth as the record of humble, earnest, charitable efforts to convey the blessings of Christianity to tribes of men hitherto imperfectly known.

We are at once carried back to Dr. Krapf, and to a work published by him some fourteen years ago, the perusal of which led to the enterprise of which this is a record. A just tribute, drawn from facts, is paid to the labours of that honoured pioneer in East African exploration, whose work, followed by Rebmann, led to the investigations of Burton, Speke, Grant, and Baker, and, finally, Livingstone. No, not finally; Africa will surely never again be forsaken by either enterprising traveller or faithful missionary, so long as the name of our great missionary-explorer is remembered, in whose labours the harmony of the interests of Religion and Science is so brilliantly exhibited.

Mr. New is a missionary of the "United Methodist Free Churches." His book gives a brief simple narrative of the commencement and early trials of the mission, and of about ten years' labours, experiences, and travels in the wilds of the eastern seaboard of Central Africa. It was early pioneer work, and in the modest allusions to it we are able to see what kind of work it was; though it is less a record of missionary toil than a graphic description of the country and people among whom it was carried on. In the most artless way Mr. New details incidents and scenes with a minuteness which makes them almost visible. A very painful view is given of East African slavery, and some account presented, partly in self-defence, of the Livingstone Relief Expedition.

The book is illustrated with good lithographic views, and a clear, well-drawn map, and a small contribution to science is appended in the list of plants collected from the Alpine zone of Kilima Njaro—the first specimens that have reached this country—Mr. New having made the first successful attempt to ascend this snow-clad mountain. His description of the effort is not without interest. An apology, in good taste, is made for the style of the writing, which is confessedly faulty; notwithstanding which it is an interesting and readable book, written with a view to commend Africa and Africans "to missionary societies, philanthropists, practical statesmen, men of science, merchants, and our

Christian countrymen generally, in the hope of deepening the interest already felt in the country, and of largely increasing that sympathy for the people which has been so largely evoked, chiefly by the unparalleled and self-denying toils of Dr. Livingstone."

*The Church and the Empires. Historical Periods.* By Henry William Wilberforce. Preceded by a Memoir of the Author by J. H. Newman, D.D. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

THE Essays in this volume are reprinted from the *Dublin Review*, and cannot be said to possess much permanent value. The writer's mind moved only within the lines of Ultramontane thought, and his theories of the Church and the Empires have all the characteristics of the school that we are beginning to know so well. It is useless to examine writings of this sort critically, to question the premisses, or to deny the conclusions. Mr. Wilberforce himself points out that the Catholic and the Protestant mind approach a subject from opposite sides, that the latter "are unable so much as to understand the posture of mind of those who retain the old faith." We are inclined to think so too. We cannot understand the posture of a man's mind, the son of William Wilberforce, himself for many years an English clergyman, who can write as follows:—"I by no means believe that Louis XIV., despotic as he was, could have renewed the work of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and have made France a Protestant nation. They were assisted by a combination of circumstances which had gone by before his time, and which, in the nature of things, can never return. Protestantism, in their day, was just rushing out from the open gate of hell (like the winds from the cavern of Æolus), a living energetic power of Satan. Such is the nature of all heresies. But not less is it their nature very soon to sink into indifference and languor, and from thence to utter death. Protestantism, which is now dead, and only dangerous by the pestilence engendered by its corrupting corpse, was already sick to death at the end of the seventeenth century." We can imagine a monk who had never stirred from a cloister in some fifth-rate town in Spain or Italy writing thus, but when an educated Englishman can do so, it is only a proof of the intellectual and moral price at which he has exchanged his English for a Roman citizenship.

Dr. Newman's brief memoir shows how, after leaving Oxford, Mr. Wilberforce held successively three parochial cures, how he gradually came to have misgivings as to the Divine authority and mission of the Anglican Church, and at length saw clearly that the "Church universally called Catholic was the Fold of Christ, the Ark of Salvation, the Oracle of Truth, and the Anglican



communion was no part of it." This is a story which we have read many times, and which still awakens our wonder and our pity.

*The Young Christian Armed; or, the Duty he Owes to God.*  
A Manual of Scripture Evidence, Faith, and Practice  
for Youth. By the Rev. Charles Hole. London:  
Longmans. 1874.

THE first part of this work has to do with Christian Evidence, and contains chapters on Inspiration, Miracles, &c., in which the usual lines of argument are laid down. In the second part the writer deals with Christian faith and practice as taught in Holy Scripture, and gives a fair outline of doctrine and duty. The general tone of the whole is orthodox and evangelical, as those terms are generally understood in the Church of England. The author modestly "ventures to believe his volume may be found suitable for placing in the hands of members of Christian Evidence and of Bible Classes," and for such purposes we do not hesitate to recommend it.

*Texts and Thoughts for Christian Ministers.* By Bishop  
Harding. London: Longmans. 1874.

THIS is not a book of pulpit helps, but something of much greater value. The author has gone through the Scriptures, noting the passages that touch upon the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of Christian ministers, giving a short exposition or meditation upon each. The plan is well conceived and admirably carried out. Nothing can be better than the strong sense and pious feeling everywhere manifest. It is extremely likely to be of use to young ministers, to whom we can commend it, not merely without misgiving, but with more than usual pleasure.

*The Poems, Plays, and other Remains of Sir John Suckling.*  
A New Edition, with a Copious Account of the Author,  
Notes, and an Appendix of Illustrative Pieces. Two  
Volumes. London: Frank and William Kerslake, 13,  
Booksellers'-row. 1874.

MESSRS. FRANK AND WILLIAM KERSLAKE, of whose reprint of Cunningham's *Traditions of the Scottish Peasantry* we had occasion to speak favourably some little time since, have now issued an elegant and entirely admirable collection of the whole known works of Sir John Suckling.

It is, to say the least, strange that the works of this brilliant wit and charming love-lyrist have not been collected at all this

century, nor ever before now in a complete form. There was, indeed, a small selection from his works published in 1835, with a Memoir by one of Suckling's family, the Rev. Alfred Suckling, which Memoir has been adopted by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt in forming the present edition. There is much of Suckling's work that has served only too well as model for such writings as those which Moore published as *Poems by Thomas Little*; but there is also much that is free from any such taint; and for lyric impulse and brilliancy, the minor poems of Sir John Suckling are not surpassed by those of any one contemporary with him in that troubled political time that saw the execution, first of his friend Strafford, and ultimately of his king. It is, on the whole, well that Messrs. Kerslake and their editor have had the courage to publish these works unabridged and untampered with: such books are more particularly for the historical and critical student, and not for girls and boys; and, while Sir John's works are, if truth must be told, in keeping with a somewhat licentious age, it is at the same time quite impossible for the historical and critical student to arrive at a fair estimate of the man's moral and artistic worth with anything less than a complete edition of those comparatively few works for which alone his brief and unfortunate career left him time.

Until within the last twenty years or so, that admirable periodical, *The Retrospective Review*, complete sets of which have become extremely scarce, was the principal means of forming a kind of limited acquaintance with a number of inedited British classics of the standing of Sir John Suckling; and the estimate formed by the careful and learned writers who were engaged in that critical and antiquarian repertory is still, as a rule, of some value. Concerning the particular works under discussion *The Retrospective Review* has the following pithy passage:—

"For a perfect specimen of those men of wit and pleasure who were about town during the first Charles's time commend us to Sir John Suckling, the gay, the graceful, the accomplished, the witty, the courtier, the soldier, and gentleman."

This hits off Sir John pretty closely: he was before all things a man of wit and pleasure; and if there is not much to learn from his witty and pleasant writings, they are still excellent models of bright, sparkling versification, and light, pleasing rhetoric. There is a great deal of detachable lyric work which deserves a far wider popularity than can be reasonably expected for the two choicely got up and carefully edited volumes of Messrs. Kerslake, because the million do not care for complete editions of more than some dozen or so of writers; for the million, the studious and critical reader has to select what is most likely to please the many-headed monster from each man's works; but without such valuable intervention as the issue of

sumptuous collections like this, the student and critic would be sadly hampered in their work of studying, criticising, and catering, for the wider audience. At the same time, the studious, would be studious, and *quasi-studious*, form, of themselves, a pretty wide class; and this class should amply suffice to repay the publishers for such a reprint as the present, and encourage them to produce others of like character. The kind of songs which students will find and detach for the popular benefit is not here of a profound nature, but eminently pleasure-giving, such, for instance, as the following:—

“The crafty boy that had full oft assay’d  
To pierce my stubborn and resisting breast,  
But still the bluntness of his darts betrayed,  
Resolv’d at last of setting up his rest.  
Either my wild unruly heart to tame,  
Or quit his godhead and his bow disclaim.

“So all his lovely looks, his pleasing fires;  
All his sweet motions, all his taking smiles;  
All that awakes, all that inflames desires,  
All that by sweet commands, all that beguiles,  
He does into one pair of eyes convey,  
And there begs leave that he himself may stay.

“And there he brings me, where his ambush lay,  
Secure and careless, to a stranger land;  
And never warning me, which was foul play,  
Does make me close by all this beauty stand.  
Where first struck dead, I did at last recover,  
To know that I might only live to love her.

“So I’ll be sworn I do, and do confess,  
The blind lad’s power, whilst he inhabits there;  
But I’ll be even with him nevertheless,  
If e’er I chance to meet with him elsewhere.  
If other eyes invite the boy to tarry,  
I’ll fly to hers as to a sanctuary.”

The final conceit, lightly and prettily as it is turned out, has an element of tenderness in it that redeems the verses from levity, and makes the charm of them legitimate. The following is quite of the same class:—

“When, dearest, I but think of thee,  
Methinks all things that lovely be  
Are present, and my soul delighted:  
For beauties that from worth arise  
Are like the grace of deities,  
Still present with us, though unsighted.

“Thus whilst I sit, and sigh the day  
With all its borrowed lights away,  
Till Night’s black wings do overtake me,  
Thinking on thee, thy beauties then,  
As sudden lights do sleeping men,  
So they by their bright rays awake me.

"Thus absence dies, and dying proves  
No absence can subsist with love,  
That do partake of fair perfection;  
Since in the darkest night they may  
By love's quick motion find a way  
To see each other by reflection.

"The waving sea can with each flood  
Bathe some high promont that hath stood  
Far from the main up in the river :  
O, think not then but love can do  
As much, for that's an ocean too,  
Which flows not every day, but ever!"

These two songs are not, like some of their companions, touched by the coarseness of the time. There are some, however, so far touched by that coarseness (and indeed by an additional coarseness of Sir John's own) that should keep the collection out of the hands of young people; but no library of any pretensions, public or private, should be without the volumes.

*Poems of Later Years.* By Henry Sewell Stokes, Author of "The Vale of Lanherne," "Memories: a Life's Epilogue," &c. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

BESIDES the two volumes of poetry specified in the title-page of this last work of Mr. Stokes's, there is another volume quite as worthy of being recalled to the public mind—the *Rhymes from Cornwall* of the same author; and all three volumes have deservedly met with a very good reception by those who pursue our native poetic literature beyond the limits of the works of two or three stars. The *Poems of Later Years*, now before us, are quite as meritorious as the former volumes, and one poem in particular, "The Chantry Owl," is particularly bright and pleasing. This, with a light, airy touch, puts into the mouth of a very wise owl a great many things worthy of a far higher wisdom; and when the owl relates a tale bearing on the fall of the superstitious Popish faith from its regency in England, we see, through the witty disguise, the sterling, keen, but kindly bent of the author's mind. The following verses are fair samples of a great many in his poem:—

"Perch'd near the porch one winter night,  
From a snug niche I heard the chant,  
While in the candle's misty light  
Each burley monk look'd pale and gaunt.  
I thought they wished themselves not there,  
So fast they go through psalm and prayer;  
And, when they hasten'd to retire,  
A young lad darted from the quire.

"With twinkling eyes and taper chin,  
The shrine where I was perch'd he reach'd,  
When I flew out right over him,  
And like a scalded hound he screech'd

The monks rushed out with a wild shout,  
And the last had the Sacrist's snout,  
Like Jack-o'-lantern in a bog,  
Or a torch flaming in a fog.

"A fiend! cried some,—a ghost! cried more,  
As they push'd and crush'd and tumbled forth;  
But some stuck fast in the narrow door;  
And not a few then proved the worth  
Of stalwart arms and sturdy ahanks,  
And cuff'd and kick'd and had rough thanks;  
And, when at last they all got clear,  
Like squattering ducks they quaked with fear.

"I saw a greater rout than that  
When Hal became Old England's Pope,  
While on his knee fair Boleyn sat,  
And did with Rome's best scholars cope.  
He hesitated at the first,  
But her sweet lips his doubts dispersed;  
And so he changed his faith and wife,  
And led some time a merry life.

"The Pope call'd Hal a heretic,  
And his young sweetheart something worse;  
Indeed, had she espoused Old Nick,  
He could not more devoutly curse.  
For her, alas! the curse came true;  
Jealous the savage Redbeard grew;  
Anna's white neck was chopp'd like chaff,  
And Hal with another wife did laugh.

"But to my story. On a day  
I heard the jeering rabble tell  
Strangers had come, but not to pray,  
And who would no indulgence sell:  
But when the chimes for vespers rang,  
Amid the trumpets' horrid clang  
Came forth the Prior and Monks once more,  
And sang more sweetly than before.

"I never heard them sing again!  
Next morning, on the convent wall  
I watch'd and waited, but in vain;  
The chimes did not for matins call:  
Later, when loud the hubbub grew,  
They shambled out—Tu-whit! Tu-whoo!  
Bleating like sheep that leave the fold  
To wander on the mountains cold."

But it is not only at old and exploded errors of thought and practice that Mr. Stokes lets fly the arrows of a satire at once keen and free from rancour: he takes a wide range, even in this one poem; and we cannot say we think him unduly severe in the following shot at our *battue* "sportsmen," as they call themselves:—

"Were game extinct they'd shoot the fowls,  
The ducks, the geese, and clear the styes;  
They would preserve the crows and owls,  
And have battues of butterflies.

Killing's the Englishman's delight,  
He's at it morning, noon, and night;  
A butcher born, yet owns the creed  
That God of sparrows taketh heed."

Perhaps the unqualified word "Englishman" is open to misconception; but we take it Mr. Stokes would have said "English Sportsman" but for metrical necessities. Perhaps, after all, the the most admirable features, not only of "The Chantry Owl," but of the volume generally, are the feeling, well-expressed, melodious little bits of out-of-door nature. Such finely-touched landscape passages as the following are by no means rare in this volume:—

"The mist  
Was spreading, mythlike, through the vale,  
The silent woods were dark and trist,  
And o'er the hill the moon rose pale:  
The rooks were in the elm trees housed,  
The ploughboys on their pallets drowsed;  
I met no creature on my road  
Save droning beetle and squat toad."

We would willingly, with ampler space at command, refer at large to much more of the volume: we must be content, however, to note that "Thrasia" is well worth attention, to commend specially "The Hymn of Cleanthes," and to add that "The Recluse of Avignon," which we think we recollect seeing in *The Civil Service Review* the week after the death of the man it celebrates (John Stuart Mill), is a very good specimen of what is called "occasional poetry."

*Morris's Epochs of History. The Era of the Protestant Revolution.* By F. Seebohm. *The Crusades.* By the Rev. G. W. Cox, M.A. *The Thirty Years' War, 1618—1648.* By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. London: Longmans. 1874.

THE series of books to which these volumes belong has so much in common with Messrs. Macmillans' "Historical Course for Schools," edited by Mr. Freeman, that the aim of both may be described in the same terms: "to put forth clear and correct views of history in simple language, and in the smallest space and cheapest form in which it could be done." But while Mr. Freeman's series deals with the history of each nation separately, Mr. Morris says, in his preface, "It is generally allowed that the complete picture of any short period is of more value, in an educational point of view, than a mere outline of the history of a nation," and further, that "it is not possible to understand thoroughly the history of even one country, if it be studied alone." In selecting *periods* of history, therefore, rather than the



history of separate nations, the writers of this series aim at giving an account which, in outline at least, shall be tolerably complete, of the principal incidents and features of any epoch, and of the common agencies and influences in operation at the same time, amongst various peoples. The two first volumes on the list may illustrate the advantages of this method. The Protestant "Revolution," as Mr. Seeböhm prefers to call it, cannot be adequately discussed in any national history. The forces from which it arose were at work in various proportions, and with different degrees of success, in every country in Europe. In such a case, the unity of historical narrative lies in intellectual and moral, not national progress. Similarly, the crusades sprang from ideas common to the whole family of Western Christendom, and their history is a part of the history of every nation included in that family.

Mr. Seeböhm gives a wide and trustworthy survey of the causes that led to the Protestant Revolution, more especially those of a social and political nature. In the ordinary run of histories of the Reformation, these have hardly had sufficient importance ascribed to them; the modern scientific mode of treating history is, perhaps, in some danger of regarding them too exclusively. It is true that the train of general causes reached back into the remote past, and included agencies of many kinds, but the personal qualities of individuals, and the almost boundless might of religious convictions, must not be overlooked. The Reformation was, primarily, an event within the domain of religion, and it must be contemplated from this point of view in the first place, whatever indirect and secondary causes may be subsequently admitted. Mr. Seeböhm seems to us here to show a somewhat defective insight. His outline of the struggles for popular liberty which had been maintained with different degrees of success in various European countries, is admirably drawn, but his statement of their historic connection with the Reformation hardly does justice to the direct spiritual forces that gave birth to the Protestant Revolution. The transition from feudal to modern social organisation was profoundly influenced by, and at the same time contributed much towards, the Reformation; but we must claim for the latter a more immediate relation to religious convictions and aspirations than is suggested in the little hand-book before us. Mr. Seeböhm, in summing up the results of the era, mentions, though only sixth in order of enumeration, its influence on popular religion: "It made religion less a thing of the clergy, and more a thing of the people. It gave the people religious services in their own languages, instead of in an unknown tongue. By placing within their reach the Christian Scriptures in their own language, it led them to think for themselves, and to be directly influenced by Christianity, as taught by its Founder and Apostles. It tended to strengthen individual conviction and con-

science; and so ultimately it led, though with many drawbacks, to further steps being gained towards freedom of thought. It is well to mark, also, that this bringing of religion nearer home to the individual conscience of the masses of the people, and cultivation of individual responsibility, rather than reliance on a priesthood or a Church, tended to bring it more into harmony, not only with the tendencies of modern civilisation, but also with the essential character of the Founder itself." We think that it would have been better to give some of these things a prominent place among the *causes* of the Reformation, than to put them rather low down in the list of its results. The Reformation was a religious revolution, in which "individual conviction and conscience," "the sense of personal responsibility rather than reliance on a priesthood or a Church," and the demand that "religion should be less a thing of the clergy, and more a thing of the people," were the most powerful forces at work. Subjective, personal conviction rose in revolt against an authority in matters of religion that had come to be intolerable. Mr. Seebohm's treatment of the political and social aspect of this great movement, as the close of an old and the rise of a new period in the history of civilisation and culture, is all that could be desired.

We have only to express our approval of the plan of this series of histories, and our hope that the promise afforded by the first three volumes will be sustained by those that are to follow.

*The Life of Christ.* By Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.  
Two Volumes. Second Edition. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

THIS *Life of Christ* is avowedly and unconditionally the work of a believer. The writer has no new theory to propound, no results of original criticism to add to the curious, melancholy store already existing, but, with all the available aids of sound scholarship, seeks to give a vivid picture of the human surroundings of the life of the Son of God. His work is not in any considerable degree controversial; it only deals indirectly with sceptical objections, and the abundant literature of doubt and denial with which most tolerably well-read persons have some acquaintance. It would, indeed, be at once a mistake and a misfortune if Christian scholars were to give themselves entirely to polemic writing. Christendom is not, after all, so honey-combed with doubt, but that, on most occasions, the fundamental truths of Christianity may be assumed without apology. It would be paying too great a compliment both to the number and the weight of unbelievers to suppose it necessary to be always laying again the very lowest foundations of our faith. The Fourth Gospel may yet be quoted without an elaborate vindication

of its authenticity, and an author may profess his belief that Jesus is the Son of God without asking permission from the learned world. While Dr. Farrar does not address himself to sceptics, he has not lost sight of the real or imaginary difficulties in the Gospel history which perplex some honest minds and give the desired occasion to many of the enemies of the Christian faith. They are candidly referred to in passing, and the materials for completer discussion are generally given in the notes, but the writer's aim throughout is to give prominence to the positive evidence of the narrative itself. With this mode of procedure we have fullest sympathy. The Gospels themselves are the real life of Christ. They are not apologetic or controversial, but narrate with calm, untroubled confidence the words and works of the Lord Jesus. And in this respect at least they may be imitated by Christian writers. The latter are not always "speaking with the enemies in the gate," and even when they are, they will perhaps accomplish as much towards securing conviction by showing the actual character of the New Testament miracles, as by discussing their *à priori* possibility. The life of Christ is, after all, its own best witness, and the enduring majesty and serene truthfulness of the four Gospels will be more profoundly felt each time the reader turns to them from the discordant, mutually-destructive lives of Christ that issue from the schools of modern criticism year by year.

The style and mode of treatment in these volumes is popular. Designed for ordinary readers, there is no parade of learning, no lengthy discussion of those minute questions of controversy and scholarship which cannot be passed by in works designed for the professed student; but the results of long inquiry are often compressed into a few lines, and the light of much research thrown upon a subject without recounting the steps, often most laborious, by which it has been arrived at. The contributions of recent scholarship towards illustrating the Gospel history are both great and manifold. In geographical research alone, we have the works of Robinson, Thomson, and Lynch, of America, our own Dean Stanley, Grove, Porter, Tristram, and the gentlemen of the Palestine Exploration Fund, together with European scholars like Ritter, and travellers such as Van de Velde and De Saulcy. Indeed, the wealth of illustration now available for a writer on the Gospels is such as to call for very considerable scholarship, together with that judgment for lack of which the abundance of materials becomes a positive embarrassment and hindrance. Dr. Farrar appears to us to show great skill in handling his resources. Archæology, history, geography, philology, and the writings of the best critics and commentators are laid under contribution; but the narrative is not overloaded, nor does the devout tone proper to the theme fail to be sustained

throughout. Occasionally the style glitters a little too much, and sometimes a curious effect, rather disturbing to our taste, is produced by very modern phraseology put side by side with the stately English of our Version.

For instance, we have the Scribe's offer, "Lord, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest" (Matt. viii. 19), and then an explanation of the Lord's reply to this effect: "But in spite of the man's high position, in spite of his glowing promises, He who cared less than nothing for life-service, and who preferred 'the modesty of fearful duty' to the 'rattling tongue of audacious eloquence,' coldly checked His would-be follower." There is a slight over-readiness of quotation in the author which gives the sentences now and again, like the one above, a somewhat tessellated appearance. This is indeed but a small fault, and if we have discovered one or two others we do not care to name them, such is their insignificance compared with the sterling merits of the work. Learned but not pedantic, sound and thorough in its loyalty to Christian doctrine, without narrowness or sectarian feeling, always reverent, and sometimes quickened into fervour and the eloquence of high emotion, Dr. Farrar's *Life of Christ* is, in our judgment, a valuable contribution to a noble branch of Christian literature. We have only space for one extract, the closing passage of the second volume.

"A cloud received Him out of their sight. Between us and His visible presence—between us and that glorified Redeemer who now sitteth at the right hand of God—that cloud still rolls. But the eye of faith can pierce it; the incense of true prayer can rise above it, through it the dew of blessing can descend. And if He is gone away, yet He has given us in His Holy Spirit a nearer sense of His presence, a closer infolding in the arms of His tenderness, than we could have enjoyed even if we had lived with Him of old in the home of Nazareth, or sailed with Him in the little boat over the crystal waters of Gennesareth. We may be as near to Him at all times—and more than all when we kneel down to pray—as the beloved disciple was when he laid his head upon His breast. The Word of God is very nigh us, even in our mouths and in our hearts. To ears that have been closed His voice may seem indeed to sound no longer. The loud noises of war may shake the world; the eager calls of avarice and of pleasure may drown the gentle utterance which bids us 'Follow Me;' after two thousand years of Christianity the incredulous murmurs of an impatient scepticism may make it scarcely possible for faith to repeat, without insult, the creed which has been the regeneration of the world. Ay, and sadder even than this, every now and then may be heard, even in Christian England, the insolence of some blaspheming tongue which still scoffs at the Son of God as He lies in the agony of the garden, or breathes

His last sigh upon the bitter tree. But the secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him, and He will show them His covenant. To all who will listen He still speaks. He promised to be with us always, even to the end of the world, and we have not found His promise fail. It was but for thirty-three short years of a short lifetime that He lived on earth; it was but for three broken and troubled years that He preached the Gospel of the kingdom; but for ever, even until all the æons have been closed, and the earth itself, with the heavens that now are, have passed away, shall every one of His true and faithful children find peace and hope and forgiveness in His name, and that name shall be called Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, 'God with us.'"

*The Ministry and Character of Robert Henry Hare, Wesleyan Minister.* By John Middleton Hare, his Brother. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1874.

It requires very considerable skill to write the life of the ordinary Wesleyan Minister. It is possible to brighten the pages of his biography by sketches of scenery and character, and to give them a permanent interest by introducing facts relating to the establishment and progress of Methodism in the different Circuits in which he travelled; but to the general reader, who looks for incident, the book must too frequently be bald and flat. And yet few men are more worthy of honour. Doing the work of God ennobles a man, wherever the work is done. And often the noblest work is done in obscurity. When, however, it becomes a question of portraying a quiet and unobtrusive life, difficulties abound.

In writing the life of his brother, Mr. Hare has been placed at a disadvantage by lack of incident and adventure. He has certainly done his best to supply this by vigorous correspondence with numerous colleagues, but the results are comparatively small. An uneventful life, well spent, is our comment when closing the book. This poverty of incident perplexes the author sadly. He is driven to give us short biographies of various ministers with whom his brother travelled, together with those of the chairmen of the districts in which he happened to reside. Once he fills up his space with an extract from a "Confessional Album," and sundry remarks thereon. It would have been better to have aimed at writing a little book, in which case many of these difficulties would have been avoided.

The style of the work is not unpleasing. Mr. Hare has not, however, succeeded in perfectly submitting himself to the law of simplicity; now and then we meet with a specimen of fine writing, which mars the beauty of his performance. One of the most interesting and best-told stories in the book is that of his blind

sister, Isabella, and yet we find this sentence in it :—"After that, a cerebral malady of portentous character showed itself in Isabella, which, though suspected of an injurious tendency upon the brain, never actually disturbed the intellectual faculty, though it resulted in the total loss of visual discernment." The history of Isabella Hare is so pathetic in itself that it only needed to be told more simply to win all hearts.

The book cannot fail to do good to those who are willing to listen patiently. We hope that another edition will be called for, and that the author will relentlessly compress his matter into a much smaller space.

*The Bible Educator.* Edited by the Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A. Vol. II. London : Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

THE high character of this work is well sustained by the second volume. Every department of scholarship devoted to the elucidation of the Scriptures is well represented, with the exception of that belonging to theology proper, which the plan of the work does not include. The illustrations of Scripture, from coins, medals, and other antiquities, are particularly copious and good. The natural history and geography of Bible lands are also treated with much thoroughness. Mr. Heard's articles on Biblical Psychology deserve the attention of readers unfamiliar with the larger works on the subject.

*Society for the Promotion of Scientific Industry. Artisans' Reports upon the Vienna Exhibition.* London : Simpkin and Marshall.

ONE of the objects of the Society for the Promotion of Scientific Industry "is the increase of the technical knowledge and skill of those engaged in the various industries." As a means of advancing this object, the Council of the Society determined, in the spring of last year, that "a number of selected artisans engaged in the principal industries of the country should be sent out to visit and report upon the International Exhibition then about to be held at Vienna." Great care was exercised in the selection, so that only those possessing the necessary experience, information, and intelligence, and a capability of observation, were sent. Indeed, it was determined that "every reporter should be *bonâ fide* a working man, earning his living at his trade." The result of the action thus taken was, that some thirty-four artisans of this kind were sent to examine and report on the contents of the Vienna Exhibition. The reports of these artisans are published in the volume before us, and we can conceive of few things better calculated to promote the design of the society than the



diffusion of these reports among the working men of England. Fifteen men were sent from Birmingham, whose reports relate to the various industries connected with that locality. Among the subjects of the other papers, we may mention "Woodwork and joinery," "cutlery," "cotton-spinning and weaving," "cotton-spinning and manufacturing," "a survey of the exhibits connected with the cotton manufacture," "designing in wood, metal, and stone," "woollen carding," "paper manufacture," "machinery in general," "social and working habits and customs of German workmen," with several others on machinery and tools of various kinds. The mode of treatment and the style of these papers differ widely, but throughout they are marked by a practical knowledge of details which shows that they are the productions of men who understand the subjects upon which they write. The objects exhibited are well described, their special nature explained, and the workmanship criticised in an intelligent and fair spirit. Papers of this sort are precisely the accounts of Exhibitions that enable us to understand their value, and to judge of the progress going on around us. These reports should not only be studied by the artisans engaged in the different industries reported on, but should be read by all who are interested in the prosperity of the country. To those engaged in manufacturing and industrial pursuits, this volume must be peculiarly interesting and instructive. We hope it will be placed in every library in the country to which artisans have access.

*A History of the Welsh in America.* In Three Parts. By the Rev. R. D. Thomas. Utica. 1872.

THE author of this volume is an Independent Minister in America. For more than twenty years he has given much attention to the matter of emigration from Wales to America, and has visited all the Welsh settlements on the great Western Continent, collecting materials for this volume and for another which he proposes to publish. From the volume which he has issued, we find that there were emigrations from Wales into America early in the seventeenth century, but that no Welsh settlements existed until the latter part of that century, when some people from Wales bought land from William Penn, and settled on the banks of the Delaware. William Penn is claimed as a Welshman, and a descendant of the Tudors of *Pen-mynydd* (mountain top), Anglesey. Many of these early settlers, like the Pilgrim Fathers, emigrated to America quite as much in search of religious liberty as of temporal prosperity, not a few of them being, like Penn, of the Quaker persuasion.

Emigration to America was greatly checked by the revolutionary wars consequent upon the Declaration of Independence

in 1776, but revived again with the restoration of peace, and has continued steadily to the present day. On page 11 (Third Part), Mr. Thomas furnishes a statement of the number of Welsh people dwelling in the United States. By far the greater number are found in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. He says there are about 200 Welsh settlements in America, and above 100,000 persons capable of understanding and speaking the Welsh language, scattered from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, and from the Northern Lakes down to Mexico. The Welsh population is but small compared with the Irish, German, and French, and forms but an insignificant proportion of the aggregate population of the great Republic. The Welsh settlements are small everywhere, except in a few coal districts, whilst not a single Welsh town or village is to be found on the entire American Continent.

The Welsh Churches in America appear to be few and feeble. The number of Churches belonging to all the religious denominations in the United States is 384; deacons and leaders, 885; ministers, 255; preachers, 104; members, 21,160; Sunday scholars, 26,161; hearers, 50,053. Utah is not included, but we fear that not a few people from Wales have been drawn there by the Mormon delusion.

The government, the commerce, the education, the legislation, of America, are all carried on in the English language, and to these must be added the Press, as the books, periodicals, and journals of the country, with small exceptions, are issued in the same language. Mr. Thomas admits it is almost impossible for a non-English speaking people to employ their native language, and maintain their distinctive nationality, for any length of time in America. He is of opinion that the all-prevailing, all-absorbing English, will ultimately be the one language spoken throughout the entire continent. And he is an enthusiastic Welshman, who throughout his volume laments the steady inevitable decline of the Welsh language in the United States, and pathetically appeals to his countrymen in all the settlements to adhere to their ancient tongue. Had Mr. Thomas proved that the English language in any way injured the Welsh people in America, we might join in his protests against its adoption; but doubtless Welsh emigrants learn to employ the English language, because they find it to their advantage, temporally, intellectually, and often spiritually, to do so. The Welsh is becoming an inconvenient and expensive language. It is maintained in Wales at a great loss to many every year. Excessive zeal for any language, doomed to die in a few generations, seems to be a mistake. Let things take their course. Why attempt to frustrate the order and intention of Divine Providence? Why endeavour to perpetuate the curse of Babel?

We fear, also, that the tendency of many remarks in this volume is to foster rather than suppress national prejudice, an evil to which no countenance should be given. Mr. Thomas has appropriately inserted a text on his title-page, which reminds us of the common origin of men: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," &c. This great truth is too much overlooked. National prejudice still exercises great sway, and is a powerful element of evil in the world. Emigration to a vast continent like America, affording ample room for a multiplicity of peoples to breathe and thrive, will tend, we trust, to cure men of narrow national suspicions and jealousies, and enable them to regard themselves as belonging to the great citizenship of the world.

Notwithstanding these strictures, we can heartily recommend Mr. Thomas's volume to all Welshmen contemplating emigration into America or desirous of becoming acquainted with that great country, as a comprehensive manual, evincing much industrious, careful—would we could add—*remunerative* labour.

*Missionary Enterprise in the East, with Especial Reference to the Syrian Christians of Malabar and the Results of Modern Missions.* By the Rev. Richard Collins, M.A., late Principal of the Church Missionary Society's Syrian College, Cottayam, Travancore, South India. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1873.

THE most surprising chapter in this book is the fifth, which treats of the early work of the Church Missionaries among the Syrians, and of the spirit of compromise in which it was carried on. The Church Missionary authorities hoped that by associating the preaching of the missionaries with the corrupt worship of the Syrians, they would gradually eliminate the errors and purify the practice of the latter. In illustration of this, a scene is depicted which provokes a sad smile: the late good Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, when visiting Cottayam, was present in the Church "when Mass was said according to the usual form . . . the wafer was consecrated and elevated," &c.; after which the Bishop preached a sermon, "but it is to be feared that those who heard it left the church with their convictions unshaken that their Church was pure enough, though humble; and that the Bishop of Calcutta would not have worshipped at the Mass had there been in it such unscriptural doctrines as some had maintained." Mr. Collins manfully denounces this compromising theory of missionary enterprise, shows how it failed, and how the Mission flourished when the missionaries "were free to rebuke error, and fully to unfold the whole mystery of God, without compromise." His remarks, too, in chapter six, on the necessity

and the value of a native agency, are very sensible, instructive, and timely, while those in chapter seven, on caste, are discriminating and corrective. As a narrative of missionary enterprise, this volume is above the average. It breathes the true missionary spirit, its style is scholarly and chaste, the illustrations are appropriate, and it has an appendix of Meteorological Notes, which, for men of science at least, adds to the attraction and value of the book.

*The Story of the Lifu Mission.* By the Rev. S. M. M'Farlane, Missionary of the London Missionary Society.  
London: James Nisbet and Co. 1873.

WE have read this "Story" with continually increasing interest, and the reading has deepened our sympathy with the earnest, painstaking, successful enterprises of the London Missionary Society in the South Seas.

Mr. M'Farlane's book treats of the difficulties, persecutions, and triumphs of those Missions on the Islands of Lifu, Urea, and Mare. Its faults are those common to missionary writers and speakers, who seem to think that a minute description of the situation of their part of the mission field, of the appearance, character, social customs, and superstitions of the people, is absolutely necessary to an intelligent apprehension of the nature of their work. The structure of the story, too, is somewhat loose; a little artistic skill would have lessened the number of the pages, and yet have given the reader a more intense, because condensed, interest in the subject. We admire the manly, outspoken way in which Mr. M'Farlane speaks of the relations that have subsisted between the natives and some Europeans, relations which reflect disgrace upon the latter, and which serve to explain and to extenuate some of the atrocities committed by the former. Of the motives which prompt the natives to embrace Christianity, and of the methods which should be employed in approaching them—"a fish-hook is often more effective than a sermon." The pith of the story is found in the chapters which treat of the interruption and persecution suffered at the hands of French priests and soldiers, and of the true reasons for this wicked interference—the French love of glory and dread of English influence, the notion that in order to be French the natives must become Roman Catholics, the domination of the priests, with their unscrupulous intrigues and malicious tricks. These are all vividly set forth, and cause us to mourn that men, calling themselves Frenchmen and Christians, could be so blind and so base. But the sequel is full of encouragement to the true friends of Christian Missions, who, we are sure, will be instructed and cheered by the perusal of this story. Mr. M'Farlane's remarks

on the importance of an "educated native ministry" we cordially endorse.

*Christian Dogmatics: A Text-Book for Academical Instruction and Private Study.* By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D. Translated from the Dutch. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

THIS second publication of the Theological and Philosophical Library maintains the high standard with which the series commenced. If its enterprising projectors can secure a succession of works like Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy* and that now before us, they will earn the gratitude of English students; and these will hardly fail, we trust, to give the publishers that practical support which an undertaking of the kind requires.

Dr. Van Oosterzee, Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht, is favourably known to English readers of theology by his Commentaries on St. Luke's Gospel and the Pastoral Epistles, and by his admirable *Handbook of New Testament Theology*, published in this country four years ago. The present volume is intended as a companion to the latter, and resembles it in arrangement; but it is in every way a more considerable work, possessing a larger outline, and involving far more labour. Should the author be able to carry out his intention of adding to these two handbooks a third on Practical Theology, he will then have fulfilled, to use his own words, "the promise of his devotion to theological science, made in silence some thirty years ago, when the degree of Doctor was conferred upon him." For his own sake, for the sake of a purpose so long and devoutly cherished, and for the sake of theological science, we trust the writer's wish may be gratified. Meanwhile, what is already accomplished is complete in itself, and is therefore not dependent for its value upon any of those contingencies which decide the completion or non-completion of a great work produced by instalments.

Dr. Van Oosterzee considers that the spirit of the times is against Dogmatics, that it is a science which, "in the opinion of many, has no right to exist." Doubtless there is truth in this remark, but a little explanation seems necessary before it can be rightly understood. We understand by Dogmatics the scientific presentation of Christian Doctrine. Its aim is to investigate and develop the contents and ground of the religious truth confessed by the Christian Church as a whole, or by any Christian community in particular. Amongst those to whom the author refers as denying to this science the right of existence, we may distinguish two classes. There are those whose opposition is not to be conciliated by any explanations, because it is radical, and has reference not to the scientific method, but to the subject-matter of

the science itself. Christianity, in their judgment, is, if not disproved, at least incapable of proof, and it is therefore useless to speak of the scientific presentation of doctrines to which there are no corresponding realities. With those who, on philosophic grounds, have given up belief in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, the questions of positive theology cannot be discussed, for it is not within the sphere of Christian Dogmatics to lay the metaphysical and psychological foundations on which such objectors insist.

But there is a prejudice existing against Dogmatics in a different region, and of quite another sort. It is often maintained, for example, that Jesus Christ Himself taught religion, but that His Apostles and their successors taught theology. The one is represented as all life and freedom, the other as a thing of formulas and scholastic definitions, altogether alien from the spirit of the former. If this objection be urged in good faith, it is the expression of an ignorance that deserves to be enlightened. It is often, however, the language of something worse than ignorance, of that secret contempt for the whole question which finds it easier to disparage theology as a science than to look steadily at the subjects with which it has to do. The presumption that religion and theology can be separated will not bear examination. Religious feeling, even of the vaguest sort, has something for its object, and as soon as the attempt is made, even to oneself, to state what is believed or disbelieved, and why, there is the beginning of a theology. The very meagrest sentiment of worship or of duty towards a higher power involves bases of belief, and theology is but the explicit statement of what is already implicitly held as religion. Dogmatics is, in fact, the formulating of beliefs, and since it is an intellectual necessity that every man should, in some sort or other, formulate his beliefs, the only consistent objector to the theological method is he who has no beliefs. A process which all who come into the slightest contact with religious sentiments and beliefs are carrying on from time to time, ought not to be so entirely misapprehended as it is by those who say, "Let us keep clear of theology and confine ourselves to religion." But it will be found, as a rule, that they who decry Dogmatics are not so indifferent to its conclusions as they seek to appear. Indifference to the clear statement of any doctrine, as for instance that of our Lord's Divinity, is often linked to the assumption of its falsehood, or is at least the sign of an unwillingness to accept the conclusion which such a statement would present.

We quote the following passage on the value of Christian Dogmatics from the introduction to the present work: "From the nature of the case, Christian Dogmatics can only have a relative value, since we cannot call any development of the



subject-matter and grounds for the doctrines of salvation an entirely accurate and complete expression of Christian truth. And yet our science is of weighty importance for every thinking member of the Church, still more for a genuine theologian, most of all for a future minister of the Church; and, far from this value being diminished or done away with in these times, many a sign of the times calls for its progressive study. . . . For the theologian, specially, no other branch of investigation exceeds this in value. It stands in relation to the others as the Queen to her retinue, the Sabbath to the other days of the week. In proportion as Dogmatism may be dangerous, is a thorough Dogmatics indispensable. The pastor and teacher, who will teach his flock with blessing, cannot do without it. It is necessary for him and for it that he should have a clear consciousness of the relation in which his personal convictions stand to the consciousness of the Church's belief. From various causes we may say that the present time is as unfavourable as possible for Christian dogmatic studies. And yet these studies will be among the means by which many a suspicious phenomenon in the domain of Church and science will be combated with good success. Moreover, there is not an entire absence of more favourable signs. The powerlessness of negation to satisfy the deepest wants of man is more evident than ever; a renewed thirst after truth exhibits itself in various ways; the striving after Church Reformation, at the same time, excites interest in the investigation of her creeds, and excellent guides appear to give us light for the prosecution of our investigation."

The following is an outline of the author's method. An Introduction, occupying four chapters, deals with the character, sources, history, and claims of Christian Dogmatics. The second part consists of seven main divisions:—

1. *Theology*: including the nature and works of God.
2. *Anthropology*: man, his origin, present condition, destiny, &c.
3. *Christology*: the Person of the Redeemer.
4. *Soteriology* (objective): the redemptional acts and offices of Christ.
5. *Soteriology* (subjective): the demands of the Gospel, and the work of Grace.
6. *Ecclesiology*: the Christian Church and Sacraments.
7. *Eschatology*: resurrection, future life, and the consummation of all things.

This is a sufficiently clear and intelligible outline, and lends itself more readily to a student's requirements than the method pursued by Bishop Martensen in his admirable work on the same subject. We cannot say that, in our judgment, the author has always observed due proportion throughout his work. The In-

troduction and "Apologetic Foundation" occupy 228 pages, compared with which, the hundred pages given to the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, the Redeeming Acts and Offices of our Lord seem a somewhat scanty allowance. On the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Faith the reader will find the author in general harmony with the great Evangelical confessions. He does not "affect a Christianity raised above diversities of belief," but has sought in this handbook to subordinate "the churchly to the Christian element." He maintains the sacrificial and expiatory character of our Lord's death, as may be seen in detail in Section CXI., "On the High-Priestly Office of Christ:" "On earth Christ offered the sacrifice of Atonement, according to the counsel of God, by the perfect obedience with which, during His whole life, but especially in His sufferings and death, He wholly voluntarily fulfilled the Law, and bore God's holy wrath against the sins of the world. By that spotless sacrifice the requirement of the highest Majesty has received full satisfaction; and in consequence thereof, for all who believe in Christ, the guilt of sin is in such wise covered, that at the same time its power and dominion is in principle destroyed. There exists thus a direct connection between our redemption from sins and the bloody sacrifice of the Cross; and this connection is of such nature that the glory of all God's perfections is revealed therein in a lustre before unknown." This paragraph is thrown into a series of propositions, which are amplified in detail.

Upon the expiatory character of our Lord's death he has the following:—"This one sacrifice has an expiatory force over against the disobedience of so many, because it was offered by the Son of God, who, as the Second Adam, i.e., the true man, voluntarily takes the place of the whole of humanity, and represents it before God. It is impossible to comprehend the world-historic significance of the sacrifice of the Lord, so long as He is regarded only as a man among men, although above many, yea, even above all others. . . . The Son of God is not simply a man as others, but *the* man as no one else; the Spiritual Head of a new humanity, which in Him as its representative appears before God justified and glorified. In order, however, to be able to represent restored humanity before the presence of God, He must first of all take the place of sinful humanity before God's righteous judgment. It is the constant teaching of the New Testament that He offers the sacrifice of obedience, not simply for the benefit of, but *in the place of*, sinners; so that these no longer need to die on account of their sins, since no other than Christ has placed Himself *in the stead of* transgressors. . . . That which He does is what every man ought to have done, consecrate himself perfectly to God; that which He bears is what every man must have borne, God's holy and terrible displeasure; but the

obedience and love with which He does and suffers this for others—in other words, with which He presents Himself a faultless sacrifice to God—is of such inestimable value, that the Father accepts this sacrifice as though it were presented by sinful humanity, which henceforth, so far as it becomes a believing humanity, is comprehended, regarded, and, as it were, gathered up by God in and under this One Person.”

Dr. Van Oosterzee is a moderate Calvinist, and holds generally to the symbols of Dort. On the perseverance of the saints he writes temperately but firmly: “It already appears on which side we range ourselves in the strife on this point, which the Reformed Church has waged since the seventeenth century with the Romish and Lutheran, and which has also been the cause of the separation between the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants. It is the question whether there is reason to expect that the Christian will really, through God’s grace, persevere in the faith, or whether it is possible that the redeemed of the Lord may still entirely fall away, and consequently perish finally. This question must, according to our sincere conviction, be affirmatively answered, not in the latter, but in the former sense.” He admits that the warnings against apostasy contained in Holy Scripture are manifold and earnest; but when, with a side-glance at Heb. vi. 4—6, he adds, “They point to a danger which exists on the part of man, and show that it is possible to possess and to experience very much that is Christian, without being in truth a new creature in Christ,” he appears to slip off the track of right exposition according to an example set by many illustrious leaders in the school of theology to which he belongs. The explanation offered is, in fact, a begging of the question. Does the passage adduced refer to those “who possess very much that is Christian,” or do we not read in its powerful accumulation of expressions, clause being heaped upon clause, the description of one who is “in truth a new creature in Christ?” If, indeed, it be only a seeming, and not a real member of Christ that is referred to, how can it be said that “it is impossible to renew him again unto repentance?”

Such passages would cease to have the monitory value to Christians that is claimed for them if the Calvinistic exegesis could be sustained.

Warnings against that which cannot happen could hardly be effective for long. It may be that the doctrine of final perseverance does not lead to the evil consequences, practically, which it is possible to infer from it; but none the less, in the cause of sound exegesis, we must contend that it is not contained in Scripture, but that, on the contrary, the possibility of an inexcusable and irremediable falling away from Christ is distinctly taught by the Lord Himself, and reappears under various aspects in Apostolic doctrine. That the descriptions of apostasy,

and the solemn warnings against it contained in Scripture, should be explained away by such a poor little logical quibble as "Who-soever thus sins shows that he never was a true believer," is a curious instance of the lengths to which one may be carried by the necessities of defending a doctrinal position. As we have touched upon this question, we will, before leaving it, quote a sentence or two from Stier's exposition of John xv. 6, referring the reader to the whole passage: "If a man abide not in Me. The plain, express language of our Lord remains in incontrovertible opposition to all predestinarian, unscriptural error concerning the indefectibility of a state of grace, and the impossibility that those who have been born again should ever perish. . . . Alas, we have, in the Lutheran Richter's family Bible the strange statement, 'There is no example in Holy Scripture of any who actually *bare fruit* having perished.' This most perilous assertion, which sets out with a much too limited notion of fruit-bearing, and may in many ways be refuted, needs not to be rebutted by any difficult disquisition upon the Scriptural examples of final apostasy, even of the saints; the warning to the saints which pervades the *entire* Epistle to the Hebrews is enough, with such individual passages, of which there are many, as 2 John, 8. If, according to Rev. iii. 11, even the crown may be taken away from those who hold not fast what they have, how can we so confidently assure ourselves against losing the little fruit of our state of grace?"

The chapters on the Church, its idea, government, &c., will be found worthy of attention. Upon a work of such dimensions we cannot, within these limits, pass a detailed judgment; but our examination of it enables us to express a high appreciation of it as a whole, that is not materially lessened by any fault we might be disposed to find with particular portions. It is the work of a learned and devout theologian, nobly conceived, and ably executed. The student of theology will find it invaluable.

*The Life of John Thomas, Surgeon of the Earl of Oxford East Indiaman, and first Baptist Missionary to Bengal.*  
By C. B. Lewis, Baptist Missionary. London: Macmillan and Co. 8vo. Pp. 417.

THE tale of Carey, Marshman, and Ward at Serampore, and of Fuller, Sutcliffe, and Pearce at home, is well known; but Mr. Lewis has well judged that the history of one of their zealous coadjutors deserved to be given to the public. Mr. Thomas was born at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, in the year 1757. He seems to have been the able, energetic, fitful, and troublesome boy of the family. He ran away from home. Eight or nine attempts to settle him as an apprentice proved fruitless. At length he was

placed in Westminster Hospital, to be educated as a surgeon, and achieved very creditable success in his profession. When qualified, he obtained a situation as surgeon to a ship, being at that time in opinion very nearly an infidel. The ship in which he embarked suffered great damage by a collision at sea, and was afterwards exposed to a terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay. Entering a cabin, he prayed to God, vowing that if his life were spared, he would live a new life. "But," says he, "I hardened in harbour into my old sins, and forgot the God of my mercies."

Quitting the ship on his return to land, he commenced business in London as a surgeon and apothecary; and when twenty-four years of age he married. With the exception of a casual attendance at a place of worship, he lived an irreligious life. But at length, under the ministry of Dr. Stennett, he was truly converted to God.

A man so impulsive and sanguine as Mr. Thomas, could not be half-hearted in the service of Christ. When once he had been brought to a decision, his whole mind and heart were absorbed in his new views and the altered practices to which they led; and he sprang at a bound to the mountain top of light, joy, and confidence. It will surprise no one conversant with the records of Christian experience to learn that there was a speedy and painful reaction, from which he was not restored without much mental suffering. Nor was this his sole trouble; his business did not prosper, he was involved in debt, harassed by creditors, for two days imprisoned, compelled to pawn his goods, and sometimes knew not where to look for a shilling to meet the necessities of the passing hour. While in such extremity a friend, unsought, suggested the possibility of obtaining employment as surgeon in a vessel going to the East Indies. He succeeded in obtaining that post in one of the Company's ships, and sailed to India in the year 1783. Calcutta, at that time, had a considerable European population, unhappily distinguished for profanity and irreligion. Mr. Thomas, yearning for Christian fellowship, inserted an advertisement in the *Indian Gazette*, in hope of finding one Christian friend, but failed in his purpose. When the vessel returned, he returned with it, and eagerly seized any opportunities which presented themselves of preaching the Gospel. It was at this time that the conviction seized him with irresistible force, which he carried with him through life, that he was called of God to make known the words of life to the heathen.

When his ship was ready for another voyage, he took his place in it again as surgeon. Availing himself of the rules of the service, and the kindness of a friend who became surety for him, he took out a considerable quantity of merchandise, which yielded a profit of about £500, a sum sufficient to cover his pecuniary

necessities and pay his debts. Arriving in India, he had no difficulty, as before, in finding Christian friends, one of them being a member of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who had gone out to take charge of a school for the children of military men; another, Mr. Charles Grant, who afterwards became chairman of the Board of Directors of the Honourable East India Company. These, and many like-minded, highly prized Mr. Thomas for his medical skill, as well as for his Christian character. They found in him great zeal, simplicity, and experimental knowledge of religion. Mr. Grant, alive to the miserable condition of the people around him, proposed a Protestant Mission for Bengal, in which Nonconformists should be included; and authorised Mr. Thomas to correspond with his friends in England on the subject. Great was his joy, as he thought he saw the way opening to the realisation of his cherished hope, the only remaining obstacle being his ignorance of the language of the country. He cared little what he sacrificed to the one passionate desire of his life. But fresh difficulties intervened, some of them caused, and others intensified, by imprudence and other failings on the part of Mr. Thomas himself.

Mr. Grant, whose respect for Mr. Thomas no misunderstanding could destroy, removed from his indigo factory at Malda, and proposed that Mr. Thomas should go and reside there, which he did, preaching on the Sunday, and giving four or five hours a day to the acquisition of the native language. In a short time he tried to address his own servants, and about forty children connected with the factory. Encouraged by that first attempt, he prepared a sermon on the words, "The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord," which he delivered to an audience of natives numbering between 100 and 150; and having had the text written on twenty slips of paper in red ink, he distributed the slips among the people, to their great delight. This, as far as we know, was the first preaching of the Gospel to the Bengalis in their own tongue. From that time he was instant in season and out of season, losing no opportunity of pursuing his mission.

As Mrs. Thomas had declined to follow her husband to India, he resolved to return to England, and endeavour to persuade her to accompany him on his return. The vessel in which he sailed had a group of ungodly passengers, among whom was Captain James Wilson, who had suffered a long and frightfully rigorous imprisonment under Hyder Ali. Mr. Thomas describes him "as a rank Deist, of the profaner sort." This was the Captain Wilson who, afterward becoming a very different man, generously offered to take charge of the ship *Duff*, and having landed the missionaries on the island of Tahiti, returned by China, and there took in merchandise which yielded the newly-formed London Missionary



Society £5,000, a sum more than sufficient to cover the expense of sending their first missionaries to the Pacific.

On reaching England, in company with Captain Wilson, Mr. Thomas, after visiting some of his nearest relations, put himself in communication with various ministers, among them Dr. Stennett, the Rev. A. Booth, and the Rev. W. Jay, then just beginning to be known as a preacher in London, aiming to stir them up to the establishment of a Mission to Bengal. This was just at the time when Mr. Carey was thirsting to go forth to the Pacific or to Africa, or to any part of the world where an opening might offer. The parties to this project heard of Mr. Thomas, and by their request he met them at Kettering, and then and there it was decided that Mr. Carey should return with him to India. About £100 had been contributed. £530, it was supposed, would be required to pay the passage of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas and their child, and Mr. Carey and his little boy, Mrs. Carey at first refusing to go.

The ship in which the five persons named above were to sail was the one in which Mr. Thomas had formerly been surgeon—the *Earl of Oxford*. The bargain was made, and £250 paid; but new difficulties arose, first from Mr. Thomas's creditors, and then because the consent of the *Directors* had not been obtained. They were told, that with the exception of Mrs. Thomas and her child, they could not be allowed to proceed. Thomas hastened to London to get the decision reversed, but failed, and returning to Portsmouth, where the vessel lay, found Carey in tears. The two missionaries, with young Carey, proceeded in sadness to London, £100 passage-money having been retained, probably for the passage of Mrs. Thomas and her little girl. Mr. Thomas has left a lively description of their anxieties.

“While Carey wrote to his wife, I would go to the coffee-house with eager desire to know whether any Swedish or Danish ship was expected to sail from Europe for Bengal, or any part of the East Indies that season; when, to the great joy of a bruised heart, the waiter put a card into my hand, whereon were written these life-giving words:—

A Danish East Indiaman.  
No. 10, Cannon Street.

No more tears that night! Our courage revived. We fled to No. 10, Cannon Street, and found that it was the office of Smith and Co., agents; that Mr. Smith was a brother of the captain's, and lived in Gower Street, that this ship had sailed (as he supposed) from Copenhagen, was hourly expected in Dover Roads; would make no stay there, and the terms were £100 for a passenger, £50 for a child, £25 for an attendant. We went away wishing for money. Carey had £150 returned from the *Oxford*. This

was not half sufficient for all, and we were not willing to part. Besides, our baggage was still at Portsmouth, and Mr. Carey had written to his wife that he was coming to see her, and also he entertained some faint hopes that she might now join us if she could be so persuaded, for she had lain in only three weeks; but the shortest way of accomplishing all this would take up so much time, that we feared we should be too late for the ship."

After a long series of disappointments, encountered with the utmost courage and tenacity of purpose, Mr. Thomas offering at last to work his passage to India, the little company set sail. In about five months they reached Calcutta. The little money with which the Society had supplied them was soon exhausted. The grievous anxieties and hardships, which beset them for some years, are fully explained by Mr. Lewis. Amid them all, the devotion of the two men to their one purpose never failed. "I would give a million pounds sterling, if I had it," wrote Thomas, "to see a Bengali Bible."

Mr. Carey landed in India at the end of 1793; Mr. Thomas, as we have seen, having been there long before. In the beginning of the year 1800, Mr. Carey went to reside at Serampore with other missionaries who had been sent from England. At that time they had been cheered by the conversion of various Europeans, but they knew not of a single decided instance of the conversion of a native.

On the 26th of November, 1800, Mr. Thomas, being at Serampore, was summoned to the help of a native whose shoulder had been dislocated. Binding the man to a tree, and instructing Carey and Marshman to pull his arm, he guided the joint into the socket. The man, when the arm was set, complained still of pain, but more of himself as a sinner, for he had heard the Gospel preached. With many tears he cried out, "I am a great sinner; save me, sahib, save me." Mr. Thomas's zeal caught fire, and with fervour and point unusual even for him, he preached Christ to that native; and as the man afterwards confessed, and as a long life of consistency proved, he received the truth in the love of it. To this man we are indebted for the beautiful hymn beginning and ending thus:—

"Oh thou my soul forget no more  
The Friend who all thy misery bore;  
Let every idol be forgot,  
But oh, my soul, forget Him not.

\* \* \* \*

"Ah no! when all things else expire,  
And perish in the general fire,  
This name all others shall survive,  
And through eternity shall live."

It was arranged that Krishna Pál (for that was his name) and another hopeful native who, like Krishna, had already broken caste by eating with the Missionaries, should be baptized during the following month. The other native drew back; but on the 28th of December, 1800, Krishna Pál and Felix Carey were baptized by Mr. Carey in the river very near to the Mission-house. Mr. Thomas's delight was unspeakable, and seems to have been too great for his bodily nature to sustain. As Mr. Carey walked from the house to the place of baptism, he left in one room his wife hopelessly insane; in another, poor Thomas mad.

Mr. Thomas, becoming unmanageable, was removed to an asylum in Calcutta, where he preached to his fellow-patients, and talked of the millennium as already begun. He was soon restored to his senses. Quitting the asylum, he went, by his own wish, to Dinájpúr, still losing no opportunity of carrying on his beloved work; but he suffered from the pressure of debt; and, depressed by his recent affliction, enfeebled in health, and almost alone, he gradually sank, until, in the autumn of 1801, he died.

Mr. Lewis has evidently performed a labour of love in rescuing from oblivion the name of the singular man whose very romantic character and career he has depicted with much skill. An example of more intense missionary zeal we have never met with, and seldom with an example of greater inconsistency in a Christian. The volume has a twofold moral: showing how much misery a very pious man may suffer himself and inflict on his friends, if his piety have not prudence for a handmaid; showing, on the other hand, how careful we should be to cultivate the charity which never faileth, leaving the judgment of others to Him who knows their frame.

*Lyra Christi. Hymns and Verses on the Life, Work, and Sayings of our Blessed Lord.* By Charles Lawrence Ford, B.A. London: Houlston and Sons. 1874.

IF we are hardly able to call the author of this volume a poet, having scruples with regard to the bestowal of that title, we can at least commend his verse as graceful, and marked by unmistakable literary skill. The devout spirit in which he writes is in harmony with the themes selected. The following is a fair specimen of the writer's style and range of thought:—

“CHRIST AND THE YOUNG RULER.

“‘Sell all thou hast’—O stern command!  
Too hard for mortal man to obey!  
One moment saw him lingering stand—  
The next he turned away.

- " Before him lay the golden crown,  
The rich inheritance of life;  
He felt the sword—and laid it down,  
Nor dared the unequal strife.
- " Houses and lands, and flocks and herds,  
Came darkening up and thronged his view;  
The echo of the Master's words  
Unwelcome, fainter grew.
- " Running he came, and kneeling prayed,  
But slowly walked unblest away;  
Beauty of youth around him played—  
Within, corruption lay.
- " O, hadst thou known, whom Jesus loved,  
How richer far His love than gold,  
How bright a star thy steps had proved  
To lure us to the fold!
- " Now sadly as our Lord we gaze  
On comely form and reverent air,  
For while we give thy virtues praise,  
We scorn thy selfish prayer.
- " And still, whene'er this word we read,  
A beacon-light thy tale shall be,  
Lest earthly love our souls should lead  
To spurn their heaven, like thee."

*Islam: Its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity.*  
By John Muchleisen Arnold, D.D. Third Edition.  
London: Longmans. 1874.

To this new edition of his important work on Mohammedanism, Dr. Arnold appends a chapter on the history of "The Counter Aggressions of the Church." It should be borne in mind by Christians, that the missionary zeal of Islam is not yet extinct. Though it is feeble to decrepitude in its direct relations with Europe, there are parts of the world in which it still shows power of extinction and increase. A century ago a few Mohammedans settled in the Mandingo land, north-east of Sierra Leone. They established schools, in which Arabic and the Koran were taught; a community was formed, and after some time the whole country fell into their power. Efforts are still made to proselytise the Pagans in the interior of Africa, and every year fresh tribes are added to the Moslem community. The writer assumes the present number of Mohammedans at 200,000,000. What is being done by the churches of Christendom in this great section of the mission field? For twelve centuries the Church of Christ has stood face to face with her gigantic foe, and it must be acknow-

ledged with sorrow that little has been attempted, and less achieved. Among the mediæval opponents of the doctrines of Islam, Raymond Lullius, to whom the Arabic Professorship at Oxford owes its origin, deserves to be named. When about thirty years of age he conceived a strong desire to preach the Gospel to the Saracens, and to this object the remainder of a long life was devoted with unabated enthusiasm. He was shipwrecked near Pisa when upwards of seventy years of age, but his ardour was still undiminished. "Once," he writes, "I was fairly rich; once I had a wife and children; once I tasted freely of the pleasures of this life. But all these things I gladly resigned, that I might spread abroad the knowledge of the truth. I studied Arabic, and several times went forth to preach the Gospel to the Saracens; I have been in prisons; I have been scourged; for years I have striven to persuade the princes of Christendom to befriend the common cause of converting the Mohammedans. Now, though old and poor, I do not despair; I am ready, if it be God's will, to persevere unto death."

In the following centuries a considerable number of controversial works against Mohammedanism appeared in various countries. Henry Martyn may fairly be styled the precursor of modern missions to the Mohammedans. The first effort by any church or society, subsequent to the single-handed effort of Henry Martyn, was that of the *Evangelische Missions Gesellschaft*, founded at Basle in 1816, which in 1822 commenced its operations among the Moslem Circassians. The writer was instrumental in the formation of the "Moslem Mission Society," in the year 1861.

His remarks upon the spirit and manner in which missions among Mohammedans should be carried on, will repay a careful reading. They are the result of considerable experience, and at the same time breathe that spirit of Christian faith, without which any discussion respecting missions is, in our judgment, useless.

"Our fears of success must not, however, overbalance our hope of winning converts from Islam. One encouraging fact is, that the Koran has laid the foundation of its own destruction in ascribing too great authority to the Law and the Gospel, without in any degree establishing its own assumed superiority. The intelligent Moslem, on reading the Bible, cannot fail to discover the sophistry of the Koran, that, while professing to confirm the foregoing revelations, it virtually abrogates them; and thus the charm which rivets him will be destroyed."

Like many other thinkers on the subject of Christian Missions, the writer looks forward to considerable changes in the mode of their working. He cannot believe that the present organisation of the great missionary societies is final and perfect. We are

unable to follow him here in his suggestions, but they should be looked at by those who are interested in the question.

We have also received the following:—

From Messrs. Henry S. King and Co. *Vizcaya, or Life in the Land of the Carlists*.—The journals and letters of an English lady visiting in the North of Spain in the autumn and winter of the year 1872, with a narrative of affairs at Bilbao during 1873. A slight and unpretending work, but pleasantly written, showing both good sense and right feeling. A well-illustrated, dainty book.—*Speech in Season*, and *Unsectarian Family Prayers*. By the Rev. H. K. Haweis, M.A. Mr. Haweis is as cheerful and self-confident as ever in his work of making Christianity possible to Londoners of the upper classes. It is true that he now and then warns his hearers not to expect too much from him. "I do not pretend to clear up all mysteries;" and again, after giving a nice little off-hand explanation of the Trinity, he adds, "In that sense I accept a doctrine of the Trinity; but I do not think, my brethren, that I have exhausted God when I have said that. For aught I know there may be a much better expression of God than that." But these modest disclaimers of infallibility are reassuring rather than otherwise to admiring disciples.

From Messrs. Rivington. The Third Edition of *The Life of Dean Alford*.—In this cheaper form this admirable biography will not fail to be widely circulated. It is the record of a lovely life.

From Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. *Wayside Wells*. By Alexander Lamont.—A small collection of essays and stories, with a slight suggestion of Alexander Smith and A. K. H. B. about them. Not very strong or original, but pleasant reading in their way.—*Old-Fashioned Stories*. By Thomas Cooper. These stories were written many years ago, most of them in Stafford gaol during the author's imprisonment for Chartism. They are simple sketches, dealing with humble life and portraying homely personages. Many of the incidents related belong to a state of things gone by, the "Old Lincolnshire" especially, so frequently mentioned by the author, having almost disappeared. The genial racy tone of these stories is characteristic of their author. Few shrewder, kindlier men have fought the battle of life.—*Blossomings in the Apple Country*. By Joseph Willis. A new edition of a little memorial volume well and wisely written.—*Disputed Questions of Belief*. Another volume of lectures to young men delivered at the College of the Presbyterian Church in England, with preface by Dr. Dykes. It contains a chapter on the "Atonement in Relation to the Conscience," and another on "Dr. Strauss and his Theory," which should be of service in exposing some errors that have a peculiar attraction for young men beginning to read and think.—*Religion no Fable*. By Joseph Shenton. The writer of this volume does not seem to us to be well qualified for the task he has undertaken. It is one thing to have a well-ordered and intelligent Christian faith, but quite another thing to be a philosophical defender of the faith.

From Messrs. Isbister and Co. *English Readers* (Public School Series and Elementary School Series).—Two excellent series of well graduated



school books. The passages selected are from the best authors, and include history, biography, poetry, and science. They are thoroughly well adapted for use in families and schools.—There is also a series of *French Readers* which deserve similar commendation.

From Messrs. James Parker and Co. *The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England*. The editor, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, regrets that the clergy are, as a rule, ignorant of Canon-law, and says, with truth, that the Canons are often quoted, but rarely read. Hitherto they have not been very accessible, but those who desire to become acquainted with this somewhat mysterious department of Church law, will find this convenient and well-edited edition very serviceable. After Sir William Harcourt's recent statement that he was proud of his ignorance of Canon-law, obscurer persons need not hesitate to make confession also. There are many wonderful things enjoined in these Canons that we pass over, but we must find room for a sentence or two from the 74th Canon, on "Decency in Apparel enjoined to Ministers:"—"And no Ecclesiastical Person shall wear any coif or wrought Night-cap (*pileolo lineo acupicto*), but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet (*tramoserico aut holoserico*). In private houses, and in their studies (*musæis*), the said Persons Ecclesiastical may use any comely (*decentis*) and scholar-like apparel, provided that it be not cut or pink (*puncturis variegati*); and that in public they go not in their Doublet and Hose, without Coats or Cassocks (*vestibus promissis*); and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings (*tibialia colorata*). Likewise poor (*tenuioribus*) beneficed men and curates (not being able to provide themselves long (*talarium*) Gowns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid."

— From the Religious Tract Society. *A New Companion to the Bible*.—One of those useful publications of which we owe so many to this invaluable Society. It gives a general account of the Bible as a whole, with an analysis of the various books, and hints towards the intelligent and profitable study of the Scriptures.